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Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-233 CONTENTS *4 December 1991*

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Gorbachev Said To Control Nuclear Arms

AU0412104491 Hamburg BILD in German
4 Dec 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Nikolay Portugalov, adviser to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, by Karl-Ludwig Guensche; place and date not given: "Gorbachev Will Continue To Control Nuclear Weapons"]

[Text] [Guensche] Does Gorbachev still wield power in the state?

[Portugalov] Of course, he does.

[Guensche] Who controls the nuclear weapons?

[Portugalov] The USSR president, of course. I assume that Boris Yeltsin, being the Russian president, shares nuclear responsibility. However, being the Union's supreme commander, Gorbachev continues to control the nuclear weapons.

[Guensche] Haven't developments passed by Gorbachev's dream of a new Union?

[Portugalov] The Union is not a dream but a clear political goal. I do not think that developments have passed this goal. The referendum on independence of the Ukraine by no means spells a total break with the Union. We will have to wait and see what the State Council will decide. In addition, reactions abroad are important.

[Guensche] Can the Ukraine survive on its own?

[Portugalov] That is a prize question. Probably it can. However, to survive does not mean to become a prosperous state. There might be serious difficulties in this respect.

[Guensche] What will become of your old comrade-in-arms, Erich Honecker?

[Portugalov] Yeltsin has recognized that this question cannot be solved without Gorbachev. In any case, he suggested letting Honecker go to Chile, but this did not suit your government. It was in fact illegal to bring him here from Germany. But now that he is here, certain moral factors and former alliance obligations take on a certain importance. My suggestion—let us put mercy before the law.

Alekseyev's Comments on Nuclear Weapons Noted

LD3011052591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2136 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Sergey Tkachuk report; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Constitutional Compliance Committee, held a news conference today on succession as it applies to the Nonproliferation Treaty on nuclear weapons and the powers of state security bodies. Answering journalists' questions, Alekseyev noted that the Union of Sovereign States will be the direct successor from the point of view of the law. If the newly formed states claiming nuclear weapons do not confirm their participation in the treaty, this will be an international act of disagreement with universally held norms of law.

In accordance with conclusions on the powers of militia and state security bodies linked with the limitation of rights of citizens, those provisions which have placed citizens' rights under serious threat lose force or should be reviewed. Regarding questions on infringements of the Constitution, Alekseyev noted that a nomenklatura privatization is occurring, in essence, changing nothing.

NATO Official on Ukraine Nuclear Issue

LD0312225691 Moscow TASS in English
2217 GMT 3 Dec 91

[by TASS correspondent Dmitriy Polunin]

[Text] Rome December 3 TASS—The NATO member states hope the tactical nuclear weapons located on the Ukrainian territory will be dismantled and liquidated in keeping with the Soviet-American agreements, John Galvin, the supreme allied commander Europe said today during his stay in Italy.

"President Mikhail Gorbachev earlier stated the Soviet tactical nuclear munitions would be destroyed. We hope it will be done," the general reminded. According to the information available in NATO, the Ukraine is ready to do likewise, Galvin stressed. He emphasised the importance of observing the agreements on liquidation of tactical nuclear weapons reached by the Soviet Union and the United States.

Treaty Adherence Urged

LD0412103291 Moscow TASS in English
1004 GMT 4 Dec 91

[by TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels December 4 TASS—NATO countries have urged the Ukraine to renounce nuclear weapons and accede to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, says a statement issued by NATO Secretary- General Manfred Woerner after a special meeting of the permanent representatives of the member states of the North Atlantic Alliance here on Tuesday.

The NATO representatives considered the situation that had taken shape after the majority of the republic's population had voted for its independence. NATO countries believe that the Ukraine should settle its future relations with the central government and other republics through peaceful negotiations, the statement points out.

The Ukraine should abide by all disarmament and arms limitation treaties that the Soviet Union had signed, as well as other international treaties concerning the observance of human rights and the inviolability of borders in Europe, the statement added.

The meeting "re-emphasised the essential need to ensure the safe, responsible and reliable control of nuclear weapons under a single authority," Woerner stated.

Delay in CFE Treaty Ratification Viewed

PM0312164991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 91 Union Edition p 4

[G. Deynichenko article: "No Credit Without Confidence. Delay Over Ratifying Paris Treaty Worries Our Partners"]

[Text] The Senate of the U.S. Congress has approved a resolution ratifying the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. Neither the treaty itself nor its ratification elicited any particular objections from the senators. Noting the importance of this agreement for strengthening the system of international security and reducing the threat of armed conflict in Europe, the senators voted in concert (90 "for," four "against") in favor of its approval.

The treaty was signed in Paris just over a year ago—19 November—by the leaders of the NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact Organization, which still existed then, and was at once called unique. This description is fair not only because the Paris treaty is the first multilateral agreement in history in the sphere of conventional armed forces. It provides for the real physical and strictly verified destruction of a vast quantity of tanks, armored vehicles, artillery pieces, and combat aircraft on the European continent—a region oversaturated with military hardware to a dangerous degree.

The stormy development of events in Europe has resulted in striking changes in the geopolitical situation, whose purport boils down to a sharp reduction in the former military confrontation. The threat from the East no longer exists. But the disappearance of this threat certainly does not diminish the significance of the Paris treaty. Moreover, the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, the serious political and economic troubles in the east of the continent, and the inveterate ethnic and territorial disputes have resulted in the emergence of new destabilizing factors. The realization of the Arms Reduction Treaty under these conditions would be doing a good service to the cause of strengthening security and tranquillity and would open up ways to the more efficient development of economic ties over vast expanses—from the Atlantic to the Urals.

None of this requires any particular proof. But the Paris treaty has not yet come into force because it has not been ratified by all the participants—chiefly our country, which, if you recall history, campaigned more than anyone for disarmament.

How do things stand with the ratification of the Paris treaty in Moscow? A corresponding proposal was put to the USSR Supreme Soviet last spring, and after a joint examination by the international and defense committees the Paris treaty was recommended for ratification at a plenary session of the Supreme Soviet.

But then things came to a standstill. Time was lost, and now neither that Supreme Soviet nor the former Soviet Union exists any longer. The present Soviet of the Republics, which is responsible for examining international enactments, is not working with a full complement, and is thus lacking the necessary quorum. Moreover, not particularly considering itself bound by the rules of succession, the Soviet of the Republics is inclined to conduct anew in its own international and defense committees the whole procedure of the Paris treaty's preliminary discussion. When will all this happen? There have not yet been any decisions, and no work plan exists in the Soviet of the Republics.

Objective difficulties? Yes, if you like. It is possible to understand the deputies. They are certainly not inspired either by the delay in the Novo-Ogarevo process or by the sovereign republics' military pretensions. How, in fact, are we to vote for a reduction in tanks or artillery pieces if the republics proclaim them their own property? Problems of a juridical and political nature requiring urgent consideration really do arise here.

Incidentally, when discussing the Paris treaty, the U.S. senators showed valid concern as to whether its provisions will be observed by the Soviet republics located in Europe which have proclaimed their sovereignty. As a result, the Senate resolution includes a provision obliging the U.S. Administration to take all the measures provided for by the treaty if new independent states emerge on the political map of Europe.

Be that as it may, the Paris treaty has not been ratified on our part, and this does not add either to our good name or to confidence, for which we all have an extremely great need not only for the sake of our international prestige but also for the sake of simple survival. For it is known that there is no credit without confidence. And we probably need arms reduction more than others do—in the interests of our own tranquillity and of peace and security in our land.

The ratification of the Paris treaty becomes increasingly urgent as time passes, and I would not like things to reach the point of no return.

United States & Canada

Gorbachev Receives U.S. Institute Official

LD0312212191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Today, at the Kremlin, Mikhail Gorbachev received Genrikh Janicek, former secretary general of the Socialist International, presently one of the heads of the International Institute of Comparative Social Research, based in New York. An informal exchange of opinions on a wide range of issues of world social development took place.

Quayle To Head Visiting Business Delegation

92UF0264B Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 22 Nov 91 p 1

[Report by TASS correspondent Petr Tsyrendorzhiyev: "Business of All Sizes, Small and Large"]

[Text] The interest of American businessmen in cooperation with Soviet entrepreneurs remains high. This is evidenced by the composition of the delegation of overseas guests who intend to participate in the work of the conference being held by the Russkiy Capital joint-stock society, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, and the Center for International Economic Cooperation from the American city of Seattle. It is expected that the delegation will include the presidents of 60 major corporations and representatives of small and medium-size business, and will be headed by U.S. Vice President James Quayle.

"This is the second conference organized by us," says Russkiy Capital Vice President Valeriy Tursunov. "The main task is to establish direct contacts between representatives of U.S. business circles and those of our country."

The conference will feature "roundtables" on the issues of foreign economic activities, ruble convertibility, tax legislation, the development of free economic zones, and other issues that hinder mutually profitable cooperation. A report on the development of trade unions on the territory of the former USSR is expected to arouse interest.

Union, U.S. to Cooperate on Mars Project

LD0312125691 Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Khrustov]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Next year the United States and the Soviet Union will carry out joint experimental sessions to receive telemetric data from the Voyager spacecraft and will create an Ussuriysk-Canberra-Goldstone radiointerferometric "triangle" in navigational support for Mars-Observer and Mars-94 projects.

Accords to this effect have been reached during a regular meeting of Soviet and U.S. experts on ground tracking and space telecommunications networks. The meeting took place in Moscow and Vladivostok.

The guests toured the long-range space communications complex at Ussuriisk—the RT-70 radio telescope with a mirror diameter of 70 metres, a spokesman for the Soviet Defence Ministry's space research subdivisions told TASS. The radio telescope is operated by ministry subdivisions specialists together with the space instruments research and development association. A similar telescope has been built near Yevpatoria.

The two countries' experts are expected to meet again in May 1992, two months after sessions of communication with the Voyager.

Northeast Asia

Japan's 'Substantial Shift' in Policy Noted

LD0312143391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—The head of our country's foreign department, Eduard Shevardnadze, has just begun a meeting at the USSR Ministry of External Relations with former Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama.

Speaking to a TASS correspondent, Igor Rogachev, deputy minister of external relations, said the Soviet side values the role played by the former minister because as it was he who initiated the introduction of the five principles of Japanese-Soviet relations. These new principles in Japanese policy are distinguished by the fact that the need for assistance for the economic changes in the Soviet Union has been given pride of place. They include a whole range of other useful principles, but territorial claims are relegated to fifth and last place. We regard this as a substantial shift in the Japanese Government's position, the high-ranking diplomat said. Assessing the current state of relations between the two countries, Igor Rogachev stressed that there has been a growth in mutual understanding and in heeding public opinion, including on territorial issues.

Rogachev said the present visit and talks are evidence that Taro Nakayama wants to play an active role in bilateral relations. His present visit is important in the context of the maintenance of an ongoing political dialogue between our governments, given that Minister of External Relations Eduard Shevardnadze is to go to Japan early next year and that Russian President Boris Yeltsin is apparently to pay his first visit to that country during the first half of next year. The present talks are, in their own way, preparation for things to come.

Parliamentary Delegation Meets Japan's Miyazawa

LD0312224891 Moscow TASS in English 2212 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo December 3 TASS—Japan has expressed serious concern over the results of the Ukrainian independence referendum as they make it fear for the fate of the Soviet Union as a single state, Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa said during his meeting with a visiting delegation from the USSR parliament, which is in Japan at the invitation from the Japanese parliament. [sentence as received]

People in Japan, the prime minister said, are following with great interest developments in the Soviet Union and understand that the country is now going through one of the most difficult periods in its history.

Economic reforms in Russia are very complex and radical. The question arises what ways other republics are going to choose and whether they have a common concept of switching to market relations.

According to Miyazawa, the Japanese Government is ready to help the USSR. He recalled that Tokyo had already assigned 2.5 billion dollars in express aid to the USSR in order to insure bilateral trade and economic operations and extend credits.

During the conversation, the Japanese premier praised President Gorbachev's visit to Japan last April. He said the visit resulted in signing an entire range of agreements and imparted an impulse to the settlement of the Northern Territories issue.

Soviet delegation members pointed out that the Union authorities and Russia adhered to the same viewpoint on the need for the gradual solution of the problem, taking into account the public opinion prevalent among the inhabitants of the Kuril Islands.

Delegation members spoke in favour of developing broad Soviet-Japanese political, economic and cultural relations which can lead to rapprochement between the two countries and the signing of a peace treaty between them.

On the same day, Soviet parliament delegation members were received by Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe. The minister expressed hope that political stability would soon be attained in the Soviet Union on the basis of peace processes, and republics would be able to agree on a new power structure, the absence of which is making assistance to the Soviet Union problematic at present.

Watanabe favoured Russia's active involvement in solving the problem of the Northern Territories.

According to him, Tokyo does not insist on the transfer of the islands within the next few years, but the Soviet Union would do good if it recognised, as the first step, Japan's rights, which would enable Japan to begin tackling problems relating to the protection of interests of Soviet inhabitants of the islands.

Lobov Receives DPRK Military Delegation

PM0312153591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 91 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] A Korean military delegation headed by Major General Kim Hak-san, chief of the DPRK Ministry of the People's Armed Forces Directorate of External Relations, visited the Soviet Union 25 November through 2 December at the USSR Defense Ministry's invitation.

The delegation was received by Army General V. Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, and had conversations at the General Staff and the USSR Defense Ministry Directorate of External Relations. The Korean guests visited a number of military installations and saw the sights of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

DPRK Fuel Shortage, Fall in Imports Viewed

LD0212163291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0234 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo, 2 Dec (TASS)—A sharp reduction in the once regular exports of extremely cheap oil from Russia has dealt a devastating blow to the isolated economy of the DPRK, where industrial enterprises are now working at less than half capacity as a result. This is the conclusion of experts employed by the semi-governmental Japan External Trade Organisation (JETRO), who drew up a report at the end of November on the deepening crisis in the socialist economy of North Korea.

According to their findings, the DPRK was able to import commodities worth a mere 11 million rubles [R] from the republics of the former Soviet Union during the period January-July of this year. This is only 1.2 percent of total imports in 1990, which were worth R887 million. There has been a catastrophic decline in exports of oil to North Korea. These amounted to 41,000 tonnes during the first seven months of this year. This is only 10 percent of Soviet exports in 1990. In 1987, a still more favorable year for Pyongyang, the DPRK received 800,000 tonnes of oil from the USSR. North Korea paid symbolic amounts in rubles for these imports. These were unanimously regarded as a kind of economic assistance in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. This type of trade with the USSR accounted for over 50 percent of all the DPRK's export and import operations.

According to JETRO, there is no doubt that exports of oil to North Korea will fall still further now that Russia is taking a hard look at the nature of its exports. The experts believe that industrial enterprises in the DPRK are now operating at less than 40 percent of capacity as a result. There are even reports that most industrial capacity, with the exception of arms-manufacturing plants, is at a standstill there, while the fishing fleet is suffering huge difficulties with fuel. This is exacerbating still further the already acute shortages of food. In an attempt to overcome the crisis, Pyongyang is increasing its imports of oil from China and endeavoring to obtain it from Iran and Libya. However, JETRO believes it will be difficult for the DPRK to organize major purchases, since it is suffering colossal difficulties with convertible currency.

Commentary Views U.S. Pressure on DPRK

SK0412091191 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Report on commentary carried by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Recently the Soviet military paper, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, carried a commentary on nuclear safety on the Korean peninsula. The paper's commentary says that there seems to be sufficient basis to say that the Korean peninsula is still under the cold war situation.

The U.S. Administration recently decided to withdraw its nuclear weapons deployed in the south of the peninsula. It seemed that this was to strengthen faith and provide a possibility for establishing solid peace.

It seems that a practical precondition to establish a nuclear-free zone on the Korean peninsula, which Pyongyang suggested a long time ago, was provided. ROK President No Tae-u also promised in principle that the ROK will also change its attitude on this matter. Seoul promised that it will not produce nuclear weapons and that it will not maintain or store nuclear weapons in other countries' territories.

However, the road for a nuclear-free and peaceful Korean peninsula has not been opened yet. When it became clear that the United States will withdraw its nuclear weapons from the ROK, Washington, Seoul, and Tokyo began to doubt whether the nuclear program which the DPRK is trying to realize is safe.

There was a series of reports that Pyongyang will be able to develop nuclear weapons in one to two years or even in several months. Therefore, pressure was put on the DPRK leadership to accept international inspection. Pyongyang stated that because research in the nuclear field is only for peaceful purpose, it was not prepared to accept the inspection.

Pyongyang said that if international inspection of U.S. nuclear weapons in the ROK is carried out, it will also accept international inspection. Washington and Seoul recognize that this is Pyongyang's precondition for accepting international inspection. As a result, the United States and the ROK decided to seek a method to put pressure on Pyongyang by force.

Recently a large-scale military exercise was held in South Korea. Another round of military exercises is expected to take place early next year. U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney stated that the United States plans to suspend the withdrawal of its forces from South Korea. This made it inevitable for Pyongyang to respond. The U.S. action was not taken to seek some kind of military hegemony over another country. This is because even though the United States is reducing troops from the ROK in a conspicuous number, the United States will still be able to reliably defend its ally, the ROK.

The problem is that Washington and Seoul are trying to clarify whether their doubt has substance through the method of threats and pressure. If this kind of pressure is strengthened all the more, it is clear that Pyongyang will respond more strongly to the U.S. and ROK's aggressive ambition. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes that the important goal of dissolving the prolonged conflict will be delayed until the distant future.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Opposition To Attend Peace Talks

LD0412163591 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Vinogradov]

[Text] New Delhi December 4 TASS—Golbuddin Hekmatyar, one of the most influential Afghan opposition leaders, has agreed to take part in the second round of the peace talks between mujahidin and the Russian representatives going to be held in the Pakistan capital this month.

According to the UNI news agency, this agreement was reached in a meeting held in Islamabad on Tuesday [3 December] between the mujahidin leaders, Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif. The Pakistani leaders called upon their partners "not to miss the opportunity to solve the Afghanistani problem peacefully".

The Hekmatyar group, Hezb-e-Eslami Afghanistan, did not send its representatives to the first round of the peace talks held in Moscow in early November, 1991.

Pakistan will also take part in the peace talks, reports UNI. The Russian leadership will be represented by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy.

Envoy to Afghanistan Denies Recall Diplomats

LD0312171491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] USSR Ambassador to Afghanistan Pastukhov refuted an AFP report on the urgent recall of 60 Soviet diplomats from Kabul. He told the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY that there is no such number of Soviet diplomats in the Afghan capital. Pastukhov stressed that no reductions in the number of Soviet diplomatic officials in this country is being envisaged in the forseeable future. The ambassador noted that Moscow intends to comply fully with the provisions of the joint Soviet-U.S. statement on discontinuing weapons supplies to Afghanistan from 1 January. A radical reduction of the number of Soviet military specialists is currently underway, Pastukhov said.

Moscow To Host Meeting on Mideast Talks

LD0312200491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1913 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—"As co-initiators of the process begun in Madrid, the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed to convene a meeting at ministerial level in Moscow on 28-29 January 1992 to organize multilateral talks on problems of a regional character," the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of External Relations announced today.

The USSR and the United States are counting on the broadest participation of the sides in the Middle East region and of other interested sides, proceeding from the view that "multilateral talks may have a positive effect and act as a supplement to the bilateral talks aimed at bringing about a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace settlement" in the Middle East.

Bovin Interviewed on Israeli Posting

PM0412104391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 91 Union Edition p 11

[Interview with Aleksandr Bovin, USSR ambassador to Israel, by political observer Vitaliy Kobysh; date and place of interview not given: "Aleksandr Yevgenyevich Changes Profession"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] As has already been reported, Aleksandr Bovin has been appointed ambassador to Israel. IZVESTIYA political observer Vitaliy Kobysh talks to the new ambassador.

[Kobysh] Frankly, it is hard to believe that after 20 years during which we could drop in on each other and discuss and argue about something or other, that opportunity will soon disappear. Well, never mind. In your own manner, I shall immediately turn to business.

Aleksandr Yevgenyevich, for all your rich imagination, did it ever occur to you that you would ever become ambassador to Israel?

[Bovin] I did not think about Israel in that context. But the actual idea of changing careers to become a diplomat was not alien to me. Back during the times of stagnation I asked to be ambassador to Luxembourg. My bosses did not agree. You should work, they said. And then there were 20 years on IZVESTIYA. It was more interesting to travel round various countries than to stay put in one.

Nonetheless, 20 years in one place is perhaps too much. One loses one's keenness of perception of problems and perception of life. It was obviously for that reason that I again became anxious for change. I began to sound out the ground, as they say.

As is often the case, everything was resolved by chance. I was in Jerusalem when Pankin came there. We met. And he had a bright idea...

Then came the steps through the official bodies. And finally a telephone call from Gorbachev.

[Kobysh] That is the superficial, outward aspect of events, so to speak. What about the essence?

[Bovin] It is hard for me to judge the "essence." I can merely voice a hypothesis. The point is that I considered our Near East policy to be one-sided and insisted on correcting it. And when the correcting began I was asked to take an active part in it. Not only to observe but also to act.

[Kobysh] Was it not terrible to change your life so drastically, so sharply?

[Bovin] I have lived through all kinds of things. After all I have been studying the Near East for over 20 years and I realize where I am going. Indeed, quiet is something we only dream of... And on the other hand it is very interesting—establishing good relations with a not entirely usual country after a break of 24 years. New problems, new people, new circumstances. These are all wonderful tonics. Look, I am growing younger.

[Kobysh] I do not want to descend into banalities, but I cannot avoid asking: What do you see as your main function in your new post?

[Bovin] I shall reply with a banality: restoring good relations with Israel. I can be more specific and less banal. There are nearly 0.5 million of "our" Jews there. That is 0.5 million broken threads. And I want to unite them and join them together.

[Kobysh] I though you would put a Near East settlement in first place.

[Bovin] One can engage in a settlement without having an ambassador in Israel. But of course new opportunities are now opened up.

[Kobysh] Do you believe in the possibility of a peace settlement in the foreseeable future?

[Bovin] No, I do not. The present generation of politicians cannot rise above enmity and suspicion and give the peoples a just and lasting peace. Only new people, new generations of politicians, can do that. But I am sure that—given close collaboration between the United States and the Union of Sovereign States—a new war in the Near East can be prevented. The talks which are now under way will not produce specific results but they are useful because they are leading to slow, sometimes imperceptible, changes in the overall atmosphere.

[Kobysh] You are the first ambassador with whom I have talked since the USSR became the Union of Sovereign States. In presenting your credentials, on whose behalf will you act?

[Bovin] Naturally, on behalf of the Union of Sovereign States, on behalf of the head of the Union of Sovereign States, President Gorbachev. At the same time I shall feel I am the ambassador of Russia and the ambassador of the other members of the confederation.

Incidentally, I do not like that name—Union of Sovereign States. I would prefer another—Euro-Asian Community of Peoples. But here I am powerless.

[Kobysh] As far as I understand, the republics, forgive me, the independent sovereign states, prepared to sign the Union treaty are demanding that their representatives should work in our foreign diplomatic institutions. What is your attitude toward this?

[Bovin] Entirely positive. I myself am interested in ensuring that the embassy personnel includes specialists representing, for instance, Minsk or Alma-Ata.

[Kobysh] But you obviously cannot do without Birobidzhan. In my opinion it would somehow be absurd to form the personnel of the embassy in Israel without representatives of the Jewish population?

[Bovin] I need intelligent relatively young people who above all know Hebrew. But what difference does it make where they come from: Birobidzhan, Beltsy, or Ryazan?

[Kobysh] So you are emphasizing youth. But if a brilliant specialist is brought to your attention but he is over 50, then you would never take him onto your "team?"

[Bovin] There are exceptions to every rule.

[Kobysh] So the steely Bovin is becoming slightly softer. I welcome that. Let us continue. It is well known that your interests and knowledge are not restricted to the Near East. That is on the one hand. On the other Tel Aviv is a tower from which you can see a long way and see a lot. Obviously I will not be wrong in supposing that the embassy will become a center for the analysis of problems going beyond the Near East?

[Bovin] I do not like the word "center" in this case. But there is no doubt that to understand the problems of the Near East you have to go beyond it. And to the extent of our professional training that is what we shall do.

[Kobysh] One strictly personal question. You do not have to answer if you do not want to. Do you dance the Freilechs dance?

[Bovin] I am a disciplined man. If necessary and if it is consistent with our state interests, then I shall dance.

[Kobysh] Now, Aleksandr Yevgenyevich, it remains for me to wish you successful work in the diplomatic field. But I am not saying good-bye to you as a political observer. I am sure that working only on diplomatic dispatches will not suit you. So until we meet again on the pages of IZVESTIYA.

Republics' Independence Not Recognized by Iran

LD0212180391 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[Text] Tehran December 2 TASS—Iran has not yet finally decided on an official recognition of the independence of Azerbaijan and other Soviet republics, 'Ali Mohammad Besharati, Iran's first deputy minister of foreign affairs, told TASS.

Iran is now developing contacts with individual republics within the framework of its relations with the Soviet Union as a whole, he said.

Iran's relations with the USSR, Besharati emphasised, are based on the principles of goodneighbourliness, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, and mutual respect.

Blockade of Iraq Seen as 'Means of Genocide'

PM2711141591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Nov 91 p 3

[S. Akhmedov article: "We Write Down Two, But Iraq Is in Our Minds. On the Results of the Visit to Moscow by the Amir of Kuwait"]

[Text] The main aim of the recent working visit to Moscow by Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, amir of Kuwait, was said to be to express gratitude to the Soviet leadership for the stand it took at the time of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. However, the matter was hardly confined to this alone.

The concealed meaning of the meeting lies in upcoming events. On 1 December the UN Security Council will examine the question of sanctions against Iraq. The United States is extremely interested in maintaining them. Receiving the amir of Kuwait in the White House at the beginning of October this year, President G. Bush emphasized: "In particular, the amir and I resolutely condemn Iraq's refusal to release the many Kuwaitis who are still being held in that country. And we confirm our viewpoint that the UN sanctions against Iraq must remain in force until a new leadership accedes to power in Baghdad which is willing to live in peace with its neighbors and its own people."

It is obvious from Bush's statement that the United States is using the United Nations as an instrument to pressure Iraq, because it dislikes the very existence of the Baghdad regime. And with this approach the question of the Kuwaitis' release can easily serve as grounds for maintaining the sanctions against Iraq. But there is much that is unclear in this question. The Kuwaiti Government, for example, does not recognize the lists of the Kuwaiti prisoners in Iraq drawn up by the International Committee of the Red Cross and consisting of 3,700 names. At the same time, it is demanding that Baghdad recognize the list of 3,100 Kuwaiti prisoners compiled by the so-called "trilateral international commission" consisting of representatives from the United States, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. Such a selective attitude to its citizens on the part of the Kuwaiti Government is very perplexing to observers.

How is the Soviet side behaving under such conditions? Talking with Kuwaiti children, M. Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union and Kuwait in cooperation with other countries will make every effort to return parents to their children. The president was undoubtedly guided by humane considerations here. But these same considerations must prompt the Soviet participants in the upcoming UN debate to show concern for Iraqi children too. It must not be forgotten that the restriction on deliveries of milk and baby food has jeopardized the lives of 170,000 Iraqi infants, while the economic blockade has literally become a means of genocide against the entire Iraqi people.

At the same time, it is necessary to develop everything positive in Soviet-Kuwaiti relations. A complex situation is now taking shape in the Persian Gulf. Kuwait is being harshly criticized by Iran and Arab countries for signing an agreement with the United States on cooperation in the security sphere. This agreement designed for a 10-year period will enable the United States to carry out any military action in the region.

Mindful of all this, the efforts to revive Soviet-Kuwaiti relations as a factor for peace, security, and cooperation in the region assume special significance today. The amir also advocated a broadening of bilateral economic relations.

Volskiy Heads Economic Delegation to UAE

LD0112135991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2125 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Abu-Dhabi, 30 Nov (TASS)—The official Soviet delegation led by Arkadiy Volskiy, deputy chairman of the Committee for the Operational Management of Economy, arrived today in Abu- Dhabi.

The delegation is to take part in the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the United Arab Emirates, which is being marked on 2 December. Issues of the development of bilateral ties in the spheres of trade, economy, and capital investments will be discussed at meetings with the Emirates' officials.

East Europe

Deputy Foreign Minister on Yugoslav Crisis

92BA0134A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 91 p 16

[Interview with Yuriy Deryabin, Soviet deputy minister of foreign affairs, by Djuro Bilbija in Moscow; date not given: "The Complicated 'Yugoslav Vopros'"]

[Text] Moscow—The top government leadership of the USSR has still not taken a definitive stand concerning Yugoslavia, especially not in connection with Serbia's economic blockade and the "oil embargo." The shaping of that definitive position began with last night's conversation between Boris Pankin, Soviet foreign minister, and the Russian leadership (probably with Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation), because the "Yugoslav vopros" [Yugoslav question] is so complicated and sensitive that the postputsch USSR can define a final position concerning it only after consultation with the republic-states making it up, with Russia in particular.

Emphasizing that the earliest this "definitive position" can be known is following the session of the USSR State Council, all of this was more or less directly confirmed by Yuriy Deryabin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, in an exclusive interview with BORBA.

[Bilbija] You have already declared that the sending of the "blue helmets" into Yugoslavia must be preceded by a full and reliable truce. That is altogether natural, but if that kind of truce occurred immediately, what would the USSR advocate in the Security Council—that those international peacekeeping forces be deployed along the existing line of the front, which means along the borders of the Serbian krajinas, or, as the Croatian leadership is insisting, along the present administrative border between Croatia and Serbia?

The Embargo Is an Extreme Step

[Deryabin] I think that the truce and full compliance with it must truly be a precondition for any sending of international peacekeeping forces into Yugoslavia. If that kind of cease-fire actually occurs, one of the variants for deployment of the "blue helmets" might be a zone between the present line of combat operations and the administrative border dividing the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Serbia.

[Bilbija] What will the USSR's final position be concerning the economic sanctions against Yugoslavia, in essence—against Serbia? If we look at the declaration of the spokesman of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and what you told the agency INTERFAX, it seems that Moscow is closer to support of those sanctions, especially if they are verified by the United Nations, than to resorting to its veto when they come up in the Security Council. Russia, however, judging by what the president of its parliament said in talks with the Serbian politician Dragoljub Micunovic, opposes the economic blockade of Serbia on grounds of principle. What is the nature of this difference between the leadership of the USSR and that of Russia, and can we anticipate a certain adjustment of the USSR's position "on the Yugoslav vopros" in today's meeting of the USSR State Council, or in the next meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the sovereign republics making up the USSR?

[Deryabin] First, thank you for putting that question, because INTERFAX was not quite correct in its interpretation of what I said. The USSR looks upon the economic sanctions in general, and therefore also the "oil embargo," as an extreme step. This is a very painful issue, and the choice is not ours. In making a final decision, whatever it may turn out to be, we will take into account a great many aspects and factors of an economic, political, and psychological nature. The questions to which we will seek answers before we decide will include these: Will the possible sanctions be effective, will they contribute to achievement of the main objective—a cease-fire? Serious doubts may be raised in this area, and we also have them. We are even afraid that the sanctions, instead of helping to achieve the main objective, that is—cessation of military operations, could hurt the peaceful population first of all. This problem troubles us very much, especially because a blockade and cessation of oil deliveries could even intensify the military conflicts. And the economy of those republics in Yugoslavia that are not directly involved in the war could also suffer from the blockade.

Aside from that, we are particularly pained and troubled that these economic sanctions would be applied to Yugoslavia, with whose people we are bound by particular historical ties, ties of friendship, the common struggle against fascism, and also the fact that we are Slavs. Sanctions against Yugoslavia are not at all the same thing as sanctions against Iraq, although even that question was not easily resolved. It was relatively easy for the Soviet Union to join in the sanctions against Iraq because these were measures against a state that was an obvious aggressor for the entire international community.

The Phase of Troubled Reflections

All of these aspects, then, have to be weighed very carefully, precisely because the Soviet position at this moment is not clear-cut. More accurately, at this point we are in a phase of troubled reflection. Everything we decide on, of course, will have to be cleared with the republics, because the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not make such a major decision. It has to conduct consultations and sort out the nature of the problem with Russia in particular. We would even have to go into the political and purely economic aspects of the problem in detail, because Russia is the principal supplier of petroleum to Yugoslavia (70 percent). For all these reasons, I can tell you that there are not two positions—of Russia and of the union center—that do not coincide. No, it is simply a question of the union center still not having a definitively formulated position, nor does Russia have a final position as of yet. We are both still in the phase of troubled exploration. The Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs has entered into contacts with Russia at the highest level. This evening, that is, Boris Pankin is to meet the Russian leadership, possibly even Boris Yeltsin. And similar contacts have also begun with the other republics. I believe that this question of the Soviet position will be taken up with the seriousness it deserves in the State Council. I assume this very day, because consultations on sanctions are already under way in the United Nations.

[Bilbija] What have the consultations so far shown, if there have been any, between the leaderships of the USSR and Russia concerning Yugoslavia?

[Deryabin] In practical terms, the consultations have already begun. Boris Pankin has just met the leadership of the Russian Federation, and it is still early to speak about the results of those consultations. But the position of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs is that in the case of Yugoslavia action must be taken in agreement with the republics, and in particular this must be done with the full consent of Russia and with respect for its position.

[Bilbija] Is the top leadership of the USSR fully aware that adoption of the request of the SFRY Presidency to send "blue helmets" would signify recognition of its activity in truncated form, which the EC is refusing to do, as well as recognition of the legitimacy of the Serbian krajinas in Croatia, but also that if it should vote for the deployment of peacekeeping forces on the border of Croatia and Serbia—it would be automatically opting for the unchangeability, in the case of Yugoslavia, only of its internal borders, and against the rights of the Croat Serbs to self-determination? Still more specifically: Do they realize in Moscow that this would be a commitment, at least indirectly, against the equal rights of both the Croat and Serb peoples to self-determination and statehood, which was referred to in the "Moscow communique" signed by Gorbachev, Milosevic, and Tudjman?

[Deryabin] The question of borders has importance for us in the USSR as well. Our fundamental position is that neither external nor internal borders may be changed through the use of force. In the case of borders, neither arbitrariness nor force are good things, because a border is the most explosive possible problem both for Europe and for the particular states, and therefore no possible variant of the possible involvement of "blue helmets" in Yugoslavia can in any way signify prejudgment of the solution of any other issue. Their role and mandate must be strictly limited to keeping the peace.

[Bilbija] Khasbulatov came out in the same conversation against a mechanical transformation of the internal Yugoslav borders, those between the republics, into state and international boundaries. How does the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs look on this problem, especially because adoption of the EC conception would separate a third of the Serbs from their motherland, would deprive them of statehood and would make them an ethnic minority, and peace in the Balkans would be fragile?

[Deryabin] It seems to me that at this point the most important thing is nevertheless to achieve a cease-fire, to achieve its complete and unconditional compliance. Stopping the bloodshed is the main precondition for initiating the peace dialogue and negotiations about the future of Yugoslavia, about Yugoslavia's future system, and also about solving the problems to which your question pertains, and here certainly respect would have to be paid to the legitimate right of a people to its own choice, and the rights of ethnic minorities would have to be guaranteed.

Cease-Fire, and Then Dialogue

Assuming the war and bloodshed continue, I am afraid it will be impossible to clarify all those issues. So, nevertheless: First, a cease-fire, and then dialogue!

[Bilbija] The statement of the spokesman of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed the readiness of the Soviet Union to be involved in carrying out the Moscow agreements arrived at by Gorbachev, Tudjman, and Milosevic. My judgment is that Europe is threatened by a much greater danger from within in connection with Yugoslavia than it is from Yugoslavia directly, that the most active role in resolving the Yugoslav conflict is being played by the countries that lost when it was created in 1918 and 1945, and that the USSR and United States have been too passive, that they are looking on calmly while the results of two world wars are being altered. What do you think about this view of things?

[Deryabin] I would not like to cast doubt on the position of countries taking an active part in attempts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis, nor do I suspect that an attempt to change borders lies behind that. The threat comes from two sides: from Yugoslavia itself, so long as its Yugoslav figures cannot or do not want to resolve the conflict, especially if that conflict should escalate, and from Europe—if it should not help to resolve that conflict, in view of the fact that it cannot be resolved just any way and that all possible ways of resolving it are not necessarily good for peace and stability in Europe. As for the activity of the USSR, it seems to me that it has increased greatly over the last two months. Whereas earlier we took the positions of the Berlin statement of the Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe, over the last two months we have been using all channels: both bilateral contacts and a clearer public articulation of our own position, as well as joining with the United States and the EC. It was our initiative to make a joint statement with the Americans on Yugoslavia and the tripartite declaration with the United States and the EC. Our current position is this: Preserving all the channels of influence that exist, maximum use should be made of the capability of the UN and of its Security Council.

[Bilbija] On the basis of recent Soviet statements concerning the necessity of involvement of the United Nations, one might get the impression that the USSR will not play any particularly active role in the Security Council, that it will agree almost passively with what the others...

[Deryabin] That is not how things are at all. The USSR does not have the intention to be satisfied with the role of an extra in the Security Council—neither in general nor in the case of Yugoslavia. Especially not in the case of Yugoslavia, because this is a country very close to us. We will have our point of view, we will pursue our line, and not simply "rubber-stamp" what others have decided. The Soviet representative in the Security Council, Yuliy Voronchev, is already acting that way and vigorously advocating our position in the consultations that are now taking place.

Embassy Hands Over 1968 Invasion Documents

PM0312135991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 91 p 5

[Own Correspondent Ye. Chernykh report: "August 'Declassified'"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday, USSR Ambassador A. Lebedev presented to Czech and Slovak historians over 50 documents from the USSR Foreign Ministry archives relating to the 1968 events. They are cryptograms sent to Moscow at that time from the Prague embassy and diplomatic correspondence from the Foreign Ministry and our embassies in Berlin, Warsaw, Budapest, and Sofia, in other words, the countries which took part in the occupation of Czechoslovakia. All the documents are marked "secret" or "top secret." This is an unprecedented step in our diplomatic history—declassifying materials when many of the participants in the events concerned are still alive and some are still engaged in political activity—A. Dubcek for example.

Czech and Slovak historians asked Moscow for these papers long ago. But the process dragged on. (Incidentally, the remaining members of the former Warsaw Pact handed over their papers on this matter to Prague long ago).

"In addition to the unwillingness of certain political circles in Moscow to open up secret archives, especially those relating to August 1968," A. Lebedev said, "there was also the problem that in our country there is no legislation allowing archives to be opened after a certain period of time has elapsed. There were doubts of a different sort, too. To ensure that this was not used against figures involved in the 'Prague Spring'."

So far only the first batch of Foreign Ministry cryptograms has been handed over. Admittedly, they contain no special sensations. In this respect there would be greater interest in the papers of the former CPSU Central Committee Politburo, which made the decision to send the troops in. The historian V. Mentsl [name as transliterated] has said that he contacted B. Yeltsin about this immediately after the August putsch. Yeltsin gave the go-ahead. But it turned out that the majority of the materials had been transferred from the Central Committee archives to the President's office in advance. Now the matter rests with M. Gorbachev, to whom Mentsl has also sent a letter.

West Europe

Gorbachev, Kohl Hold Telephone Conversation

LD0312180191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1632 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—Today FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl phoned Mikhail Gorbachev. A friendly, confidential conversation took place, like those that have become usual in the practice of their regular contacts.

Mikhail Gorbachev asked about the health of Kohl's son, Peter, who was recently in a car accident. Thank God, he is recovering.

The chancellor was interested in an appraisal of the economic situation in our country. The president spoke frankly about the present difficulties, especially in the big towns, about his impressions of his trip to Irkutsk and Kyrgyzstan, and of the measures now being taken on the basis of the Russian program aimed at resolutely implementing the broad-scale economic reform.

The president said that our priority concern is now the future of our statehood. The danger of disintegration is rising. It must be halted. Now maximum efforts are being directed at maintaining the process of shaping the new union. Delay in this would be fraught with incalculable trouble, and for the economic condition of all the republics as well.

The greater part of the conversation was devoted to the referendum on the Ukraine. Mikhail Gorbachev gave an account of his contacts on this subject yesterday with Leonid Kravcuk and Boris Yeltsin. He reported on the willingness expressed by the president of the Ukraine to cooperate constructively, and on his intention to discuss with them, and with the leaders of the other sovereign states, further actions regarding the reshaping of the union.

He once again put forward his opinion on this count: If, in contradiction to the other sovereign republics, the independence of the Ukraine is to be used for its separation, the consequences may be extremely serious, and that goes for the outside world as well.

Mikhail Gorbachev expressed his opinion on the reaction in the West to the Ukrainian referendum— in which the issue of national and state independence was voted upon, and not that of leaving the Union.

The plans, agreements and accords on cooperation with Germany, like the new style of international cooperation in general that has been developed over the last few years, should not have doubts cast upon it because of the difficult process of our transformations. On the contrary, the solidarity manifested by foreign powers in resolving our crisis problems, in which Germany is playing a most appreciable role, confirm the significance of the new international relations—which deserve to be protected from hasty decisions with every means at one's disposal.

EC Aid Contingent on Payment of Foreign Debt

OW0112041791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the group of the European Parliament for ties with the USSR Magdalena Hoff has declared that the task of her delegation is to study the possibilities of EC programs of economic aid to the Soviet Union. She spoke at a news conference in Moscow.

The group of 32 MPs representing 12 EEC countries has visited Minsk and St. Petersburg and will go to Kiev and Alm-Ata.

In Moscow they met Soviet and Russian MPs. They discussed the details of aid programs worth 2 bn [billion] ECUs [European Currency Units] in both actual food and food credits.

It was stressed at the news conference that only the republics that recognize their share of the USSR foreign debt and are ready to pay it back can count getting the aid.

French Business Delegation Concludes Visit

PM2911141991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 91 p 2

[G. Yastrebtsov report under the rubric "Around the Country": "Moscow-Paris: Business Partnership"]

[Text] What was surely the most representative delegation of French business circles to come to our country in many years has completed its visit. Sixty leading industrialists, bankers, and businessmen came to Moscow at the invitation of the Scientific-Industrial Union to study our market in depth and outline the main areas of cooperation.

Commodity exchange between France and the USSR has increased somewhat recently—it now stands at around three billion rubles. But it is quite obvious that this level is inadequate for such major partners. Thanks to the efforts of the Scientific-Industrial Union and the French Employers Association, a package of large-scale cooperation projects has already been drawn up in various spheres of the economy. In the opinion of specialists, the present visit to Moscow by representatives of French business circles may give new impetus to the development of mutually advantageous business partnership.

During the visit there were meetings and conversations between members of the French delegation and leaders of the Interrepublic Economic Committee and of the governments of Russia and Moscow.

Latin America & Caribbean

Ustinov Cited on Troop Withdrawal From Cuba

PM0312164591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Dec 91 Union Edition p 7

[A. Kamorin report: "How Is Our Brigade To Be Withdrawn From Cuba? Ambassador Awaits Instructions From Moscow"]

[Text] Havana—The talks between the USSR and Cuba on reducing the Soviet military presence on the island that have been under way in Havana for the last few days can only be described as strange.

Of course, when the Soviet delegation headed by Ambassador at Large V.A. Ustinov arrived in Havana 14 November no one supposed that all the questions connected with so delicate a task as withdrawing a brigade would be settled at a stroke. However, the resolve with which President M.S. Gorbachev had announced, in September of this year, his intention to withdraw the brigade from Cuba (admittedly while forgetting to inform the Cuban side, which learned of the brigade's withdrawal from newspapers) indicated that at least a general timetable for implementing the operation would be made public.

Then the strange events began. At first the talks, which were held behind tightly closed doors, dragged on beyond the anticipated date, then, on 22 November, the Soviet delegation returned to Moscow, except for Ambassador Ustinov.

I would remind you that our delegation came here to discuss techniques for withdrawing the brigade, as indicated by the considerable number of military experts on the delegation. For their part, the Cuban colleagues told the Soviet mission to examine the political expediency of such a step, linking it with the question of eliminating the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo. I believe that Ambassador Ustinov was not empowered to question a decision adopted by the USSR president.

But, you will agree, a situation in which the USSR is unable to withdraw its own troops from Cuba in a calm and civilized manner cannot last long. You can understand the Cubans' irritation at the action of M.S. Gorbachev, who unilaterally decided to withdraw the brigade. You can also understand their wish to show us and the whole world that they will not allow themselves to be treated this way. But a sense of realism should clearly suggest to them that the condition regarding the elimination of Guantanamo is deliberately infeasible and can only pointlessly delay a solution of the question. And this is fraught with the danger of a serious chill in our bilateral relations.

Despite the confidential nature of the discussions, Ambassador V.A. Ustinov agreed to answer my question.

[Kamorin] Many people were expecting this first round to result at least in the setting of a final date for the brigade's withdrawal from the island.

[Ustinov] This was scarcely possible. Besides the political aspects, the setting of such a date depends on a whole series of technical, financial, and other problems. This time the discussion has been mainly about politics. Agreeing the final timetable for the troop withdrawal is more the culmination than the beginning of the negotiating process. We have now reached a stage where the two countries' high leaders in Moscow and Havana have to reflect and adopt an appropriate decision.

Castro Says Union Disorganized From Top

LD0412051391 Moscow TASS in English
1206 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Gorbunov]

[Text] Mexico City December 3 TASS—Fidel Castro has denied the possibility of "major reforms" in Cuba, since, in his opinion, they would "mean a comeback of the old system." Castro believes that "indepth, historical changes were accomplished in Cuba thirty years ago." "If we decide to reform something, this will be done only to improve what we already have, but not to renounce our accomplishments," Castro told the Mexican newspaper EL SOL DE MEXICO.

Comparing the policy of rectifying mistakes and negative tendencies, carried out by the Cuban leadership in the 1980's, with the Soviet perestroyka, Castro said there was "order and harmony" in Cuba, while the Soviet Union was torn asunder by "chaos and disorganisation." "I don't deny that they wanted to improve their system, but managed only to destroy it," he said. In his opinion, it is wrong to demand that Cuba should follow this example. "We are witnessing a catastrophe in the Soviet Union," he said. "It is our duty not to copy something that is not needed by anybody."

Castro said that developments, like the ones that have occurred in the Soviet Union and the East Europe, were impossible in Cuba. "People will have to live through very hard times and many difficulties due to the collapse of socialism in Europe. But they will be overcome," Castro said.

Noting that the "USSR had achieved unprecedented achievements over the past few decades, he stressed that "it is wrong to destroy history and the ruling party," since this engenders only "disorganization, chaos and catastrophe." The Cuban leader believes that, as distinct "from countries, where socialism was imported," there were no processes, developments or grassroots movements in the Soviet Union that could bring about a situation we are now witnessing.

Speaking about Gorbachev's policy of perestroyka, Castro believes the "USSR was disorganised from the top, not from the grassroots" due to "strategic and tactical blunders" committed during the process of improving the existing system.

Supreme Soviet

Legislature Discusses Union Treaty Approval

Gorbachev Appeal

LD0312150291 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 3 Dec 91

["Text" of address by President Mikhail Gorbachev to the Supreme Soviet; place and date not given; TASS headline—"Gorbachev Pleads to All MP's To Approve Union Treaty"]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Follows the text of President Mikhail Gorbachev's address to all parliamentarians of the country:

Esteemed deputies of supreme councils of sovereign states,

My address to you is prompted by the heightening concern for the life of our motherland. The crisis of statehood is the most dangerous among the many crises it is now experiencing. It greatly affects the ability of the authorities at every level to fulfil their obligations to citizens, it undermines the economy, hampers and disrupts the process of reforms, distorts morals, sets nations against one another and leads to the destruction of culture.

Democratically-elected legislative and executive bodies have emerged in each of your sovereign states. They are responsible for politics which should serve the interests of your peoples. But things become worse. It would seem it should be made clear that disintegration is one of the main causes of all this. Disrupting the historic logic of the existence in a huge integral country, it has surpassed the limits of the reasonable and has gone so far as to become destructive.

The draft Union treaty has been submitted for your consideration.

Your decision will either bring society closer to developing new forms of life or else our peoples will be doomed to groping, each on its own, for a long time, if not indefinitely. The fate of each of them and of all of us together, and of the outside world is impossible to predict. One thing is clear, that the consequences will be grave.

At the all-Union referendum last March the overwhelming majority of citizens declared in favour of preserving a renewed Union.

The recent months filled with turbulent, alarming and tragic events made people even more confident that the Union is necessary. This is proved by all public opinion polls.

I realise that people's deputies are under presure of various forces often representing opposite interests and claims. Each of you have your own views.

All this is natural for democracy. But it is precisely democracy which demands that decisions are made in the interests of the majority, and not just part of society, no matter how vocal that part may be. Decisions should be made in perspective, not out of circumstantial consideration.

Each of you has a right to refuse the Union. But people's deputies should consider all the consequences of such a refusal. Only the Union can protect us against the most tragic of the impending dangers—from separation and loss of bonds by which history linked peoples over centuries on an area amounting to one sixth of the earth's surface. Disintegration of this multiethnic community will bring to millions of citizens misfortunes which will prevail over all possible temporary advantages of separation.

Disintegration would be a sentence to dozens of millions living beyond the limits of their ethnic republics, and those in whom dedication to the vast country runs in the blood.

Disintegration is fraught with ethnic interrepublican clashes, even wars. This would be a catastrophe for the entire international community and would dash all the achievements resulting from our policy of new thinking.

Republican secession would endanger human and national minorities rights. This is inevitable despite any honest obligations or resolutions proving otherwise. Human rights violations will seriously affect republican relations with the world, as that would mean the violation of international treaties.

The breakaway process will give a final and collapsing strike to production forces. They are so tied in one knot that even the present-day relatively slight distancing between the republics badly influences the economic situation and every-day life.

One has to realise the collapse of the Union will slow down the development of republican science, technology and culture, which, by their nature, need a permanent interraction both inside and outside the union. They need such interraction to enrich each other, which is most important nowadays. The prestige and the potential of our multinational science and culture can be heavily damaged.

Without a Union our common security, as well as the security of any republic, will ultimately erode. We are sure to lose international prestige, which has been dearly paid for by all peoples and means a lot to every citizen.

Finally, nobody has the right to forget that our state has become a main basis of world development towards a new world order. That is the way the world looks at us. For us it means both responsibility and acknowledgement of our maturity. The collapse of the basis will cause a chain reaction with consequences which are difficult to predict.

I am not exaggerating in citing these threats and possible losses. Both Soviet and foreign analysts of all trends predict them. Important scientific research centres prove the forecast in their well-grounded calculations. Moreover, shall we not draw lessons from the dramatic and even bloody developments in those parts of the country which have already decided to break away.

I have more than once publicly stated, at various state meetings and forums, my concept of the new Union. In this appeal I want to stress once more we are not speaking about the rebirth of the old centre in a new vest. The old Union ceases to exist and there is no return to it. The failure of the August coup proved it another time. A completely new state and interstate structure, as defined in the draft Union treaty, must appear.

The draft is the fruit of a comprehensive and serious analysis and long negotiations by representatives of sovereign states. Leaders of the sovereign republican states worked on it at joint and separate meetings. The draft has changed many times to become more democratic, promoting confederation.

The confederative concept of the treaty, which defines the character of the unseen statesmanship, includes two basic ideas.

The first one is the idea of self-determination, independence and state and national sovereignty.

The second is the idea of union, cooperation, interaction and mutual assistance.

I am all for a renewed Union, the union of sovereign states, a confederate democratic state. I wish my attitude to be well-known to all before you make your decision. There is no time to lose.

Therefore I ask you, plenipotentiary representatives of your peoples, to discuss and endorse the draft treaty on the union of sovereign states in the days ahead. I must repeat again there will be no revival of society, we shall be unable to overcome the crisis and join the civilised world and, worse still, to avoid universal catastrophy unless disintegration is arrested.

I ask you to say "yes" to such a form of equal cooperation and interaction as would enable us all to cover together the most difficult and dangerous stretch in our common history. This is the only possible way to do this.

The State Council in its address to parliaments expressed the wish the treaty to be prepared for signing this year. Fully-fledged delegations of the Supreme Council will be able to take into consideration the remarks at the latest stage of the work on the treaty so that when it is signed, the country could heave a sigh of relieve, get very important support and acquire hope for joint progress.

[Signed] Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR.

Opposition Reported

OW0312121191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1120 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Having given on the whole support to the draft treaty on a union of sovereign states at the Supreme Soviet's council of republics, MP's from Russia and Kyrgyzstan opposed the formula for a confederate state during debates in the upper house of the central legislature on Tuesday [3 December]. They also opposed the idea of electing USSR president directly and called for electing him by a college of electors.

Deputy from Russia Sergey Shakhray said his deputation believes that a radical economic reform to be coordinated with all republics is a major instrument for preserving the Union.

Deputations from Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenia backed the draft Union treaty submitted to them and called for deciding which republics will join it as soon as possible.

Spokesman for Belorussia Aleksander Dovlat said there is no logic in discussing the draft Union treaty in the Supreme Soviet without its preliminary ratification by republican parliaments, and put to doubt the need of further work at the Supreme Soviet.

Union Favored, Treaty 'Contradictory'

LD0312220791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] The Soviet of the Union today set about discussing the draft treaty on the union of sovereign states. At the evening session virtually all deputies were united in believing that in the present situation a political union is necessary. The view was expressed that the draft treaty is contradictory, and individual clauses of it give rise to different interpretations. It was noted in particular that the union of sovereign states, as it appears from the draft, is a hybrid formation that contains elements both of a federation and a confederation.

Meanwhile, the Soviet of the Republics of the Union Supreme Soviet issued a statement saying that the draft treaty, after it is signed, is capable of creating the necessary legal basis for specific practical steps to form a new system of state relations in the country.

Republics Urged to Hurry

LD0312231391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2006 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Appeal made by Soviet of the Republics of USSR Supreme Soviet to Supreme Soviets of sovereign states]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—The Soviet of the Republics of the USSR Supreme Soviet, having discussed the draft treaty of the union of the sovereign states presented by the USSR State Council, generally supports it.

While recognizing its responsibility before the peoples of the sovereign states and expressing deep concern about the processes of disintegration taking place in the transitional period, and while striving to make its own contribution toward the search for ways of stabilizing the situation, overcoming the crisis, and reaching accord between the sovereign states, the Soviet of the Republics appeals to the Supreme Soviets of the sovereign states to examine the draft treaty as soon as possible in the Supreme Soviets and formulate their position in order to open the way toward its signing.

Draft Treaty Approved

LD0412125191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1230 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 4 Dec (TASS)—The Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet approved the draft treaty on the union of sovereign states at a plenary session today. Deputies made several amendments to the text of the treaty which do not substantially change the spirit or letter of the document. They adopted a number of recommendations which will be sent to the Supreme Soviets of the sovereign states, and also directly to the commission for preparing the draft treaty.

Emergency Budget Deliberations Reported

Russians Demand Revision

OW2911143491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking on behalf of the Russian parliament, the coordinator of the Russian deputation in the USSR Supreme Soviet, Aleksandr Kotenkov, has today demanded that the upper house, the Council of the Republics, revise its decision to give the USSR Finance Ministry a credit of 90.5 billion rubles. The reason for the Russian parliament's stand is that the main burden of inflation and the measures to eliminate the budget deficit would have to be borne by the Russian Federation.

Crisis Anticipated

PM0312115391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 91 Union Edition pp 1-2

[Article by parliamentary observer S. Chugayev: "Russia and Union on Verge of Interparliamentary Crisis"]

[Text] It is not out of the question that one more crisis will soon be added to our numerous problems and conflicts. This time in relations between the USSR and Russian Supreme Soviets. The reason for its emergence may be the resolution adopted 28 November by the Union parliament's Soviet of the Republics approving the draft emergency budget for the final three months of this year submitted by the Interstate Economic Committee. Agreement has been given to the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] providing credit of 90.5 billion rubles [R] to cover the planned deficit and the July authorization of the USSR president for credit of R68 billion has also been approved.

The deputies of both chambers—the discussion of the budget took place at a joint session—were in a rather delicate position. In fact they were being asked to approve retroactively decisions which they had not taken and thus share responsibility for the consequences of an emission of R90 billion. But on the other hand they had no other choice. As USSR Gosbank Chairman V. Gerashchenko announced at the session, the bank under his command has R3 billion left for expenditure. That money could be spent in literally one or two days and then the USSR Ministry of Finances will be obliged to suspend all expenditure in the country. The result is that the payment of wages for servicemen, doctors, and teachers and allowances for old people and children is threatened. A deadly argument, there's no denying. But there were serious doubts as to whether it will work this time.

The start of debates over the budget was preceded by a closed session of parliamentarians representing Russia. Parliamentary secrets are not kept for long and about five minutes after the end of the conference everyone knew that Russian Vice Premier Gennadiy Burbulis and Deputy Premier Yegor Gaydar had urged the deputies at this conference to block the approval of the budget until it has been discussed in the Russian parliament. Here it was recalled that a week ago it was Russia which became the only republic which, at the meeting of heads of government of the sovereign states, voted against the draft of this selfsame budget. There were no doubts that the Russian deputies' coordinated action against the draft left it no chances of being approved in parliament.

But it looks as though the prospect of whole categories of our working people and dependents being left without money and most likely being unable to react appropriately to the situation made a deep impression on the deputies, including the Russian ones. Parliament began to incline obviously in favor of adopting the budget. Actually, many parliamentarians, especially those from other republics, had other weighty reasons for voting "for," just as, I am sure, the leaders of the Russian government did not set themselves the aim of depriving employees of their wages or students of their grants.

This was not stated directly but during the debates one and the same date—1 December—was constantly and persistently to be glimpsed. V. Gerashchenko and USSR First Deputy Finances Minister V. Rayevskiy, for instance, tried to persuade the deputies that it is necessary to adopt the resolution on the budget before 1 December and V. Volkov, coordinator of the Russian deputies for the Soviet of the Union, citing the wishes of the leaders of the Russian parliament, argued it should be adopted after that date.

Is the secret not that V. Rayevskiy presented parliament with the draft budget in his capacity as USSR first deputy minister of finances, while as of 1 December he will become chairman of the commission to abolish the Ministry of Finances? The Union Ministry of Finances is moving to Russia's jurisdiction and that means it has to bear all expenditure and responsibility for the budget which will be approved not by the Russian parliament but by the USSR Supreme Soviet. It is logical to wait a while and analyze more attentively what to pay for. But it is also logical for the other republics to turn the draft into a binding law as rapidly as possible. Inasmuch as there are fears that Russia, having gotten its way, will unfailingly cut off the expenditure items of the budget affecting the republics.

For the first time in the renewed Union Supreme Soviet an atmosphere of imminent parliamentary crisis began to be felt. The majority of members of the Soviet of the Republics was absolutely obviously inclined to approve the draft budget, which could not be said of the Soviet of the Union. And a most implausible situation took shape—it was utterly unclear how the upper chamber of parliament could adopt what would be rejected by the lower chamber and what would happen then. The chambers decided to vote separately.

But there was no crisis. Some members of the Soviet Union passed up electronics in favor of another method of voting—with their feet. Nor was there a quorum in the lower chamber. The efforts of speaker K. Lubenchenko, who sent express messengers to the hotel and parliamentary committees to get the absentees into the hall of sessions proved futile. Actually, this deputies' maneuver also evidently proved futile. After the Soviet of the Republics had approved the draft budget, A. Alimzhanov, the chairman of the Soviet, declared that this decision was final, that is equal to the decision of the entire parliament, irrespective of what was happening in the Soviet of the Union. The upper chamber, he emphasized, has the right to take this step.

On the other hand we have the opportunity to become witnesses to an interparliamentary crisis. Although if the Russian parliament embarks on a war against the Union parliament, it will hardly last long. It has become known that Ye. Gaydar has stated that if the USSR Supreme Soviet approves the budget, the Russian parliament will demand that its own Supreme Soviet recall the Russian deputies from the Union parliament. If that happens, it is not difficult to predict the fate of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

'Passions' Run 'High'

PM0312121391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 91 First Edition p

[Legislative observer Robert Minasov dispatch from the Kremlin: "Attacking the Russians Will Not Save the Economy"]

[Text] The amended draft resolution "On USSR State Bank Credits for Financing All-Union Expenditure in 1991" has been submitted for examination by the Union Supreme Soviet. This draft contains the following provision: "There is no potential for reducing expenditure or non-inflationary financing. Expenditure for the fourth quarter of 1991 has mainly been carried out and partially been credited by the USSR State Bank. The USSR Supreme Soviet has been presented with a fait accompli and is being ordered to approve decisions adopted without its participation, thus sharing political responsibility for their possible consequences."

A paragraph which expressed a lack of confidence in Viktor Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR State Bank Board, in connection with actions not in accordance with the USSR Law "On the State Bank," was removed from the draft.

Passions ran high again when Vladimir Volkov went up to the microphone: The Russian deputies in the legislature had instructed him, Gubarev, and Lukin to speak to the leadership of the Russian Supreme Soviet, particularly Voronin and Pochinok, in order to determine the position as regards the proposed draft emergency budget. Volkov stated that the Russian deputies were asking for voting on this question to be postponed by one week so that it could be studied more carefully and possibly examined at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session.

Chairman Anuarbek Alimzhanov immediately rejected this application as unacceptable.

Other opinions were also expressed. It was proposed, for instance, that the intended budget be discussed and examined paragraph by paragraph. The objection was raised that we must not delay. In particular, Viktor Gerashchenko stated that without credits only 3 billion rubles will remain in the treasury, and that is liable to result in a social explosion.

The deputies dispersed for the long recess without adopting any decisions. It was proposed that voting for the draft resolution be held at separate sessions of the chambers in the evening session.

As was to have been expected, voting on this question in the Soviet of the Union came to nothing—there was no quorum to adopt the decision. The Soviet of the Republics approved the draft resolution.

Budget Approved

OW0312175391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union voted on a draft decree concerning the country's emergency budget for the rest of this year. The decree was approved as a whole by 104 votes against 15.

So the Supreme Soviet has resolved the budget problem to all intents and purposes. What remains for the MPs is to coordinate the wording of resolutions on this issue adopted by the two houses.

The Council of the Union's resolution took into account amendments suggested by Russia's parliament with a view to cutting as much as possible budgetary expenditure in the rest of the year and making mutual commitments when forming the 1992 budget by the republics.

Law Adopted Reorganizing State Security Bodies

LD0312151291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1312 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet of the Republics today passed a law on the reorganization of the state security bodies. The USSR State Security Committee has been abolished, and the Interrepublican Security Service, the Central Intelligence Service, and a Committee on Protection of the State Border with unified command of border troops have been formed to act in the interim as the central bodies of state control. The country's president has been advised to provide for the drafting and endorsement of acts with legal force to regulate the activities of these bodies.

The adoption by the Soviet of the Republics of a resolution on the draft Union treaty of sovereign states, which was debated today, has been moved to the evening session. However, one can suppose with a fair degree of certainty that the chamber will come out in favor of the speedy formation of a political union, since this idea has, in essence, been supported by the representatives of all seven republican delegations.

Soviet of Union Adopts Arrest, Detention Law

LD0312161591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1523 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—From now on each of the country's citizens has the right to an appeal and to a judicial examination of the legality of their arrest or detention in custody. This right is granted to him by a law that was adopted by the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The appeal for a decision—which can only be made with the procurator's sanction—is presented to a court in accordance with the location of the individual who has been arrested or detained in custody. Moreover, the appeal will be considered within five days after it is received by the court. The procurator giving the sanction for the arrest has the right to take part in the consideration, however—not only the procurator, but also suspects and alleged offenders as well as their legal representatives and defense lawyers will be allowed to take part. According to the results of the consideration, the judge will personally pronounce a decision that it be upheld or be rejected which will be handed to the individual who has been arrested or held in custody not later than 24 hours after it has been pronounced.

If there is an appeal against the judge's decision by the procurator or if it does not satisfy those arrested themselves then the appeal will be considered by a higher court but without testimony from any side. In this case the decision will be final and will be subject to immediate execution.

The new law contains an article which recommends that the republican Supreme Soviets bring their legislation into line with the law adopted by the Union parliament.

Azerbaijani, Armenian Decisions Ruled Illegal

OW0212002791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2143 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Constitutional Supervising Committee has declared unconstitutional the legal acts of Azerbaijan and Armenia concerning Nagorno-Karabakh. The chairman of the committee Sergey Alekseyev told a Moscow news conference the verdict concerns the decision of the Armenian parliament declaring Nagorno-Karabakh an autonomous republic of Armenia and the decision of the Azerbaijani parliament abolishing the autonomy of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Yeltsin Resignation as Deputy Accepted

LD0312145891 Moscow TASS in English 1408 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Boris Yeltsin's statement to renounce his powers of USSR people's deputy ahead of time was accepted by the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet today. Under the constitution of the Russian Federation, the Russian president cannot be a people's deputy.

The resolution by the Council of the Union withdrew the mandates of another 14 USSR people's deputies whose names are widely known in the country. They motivated their withdrawal from the pool of deputies differently. Mircha Snegur, for instance—by the declaration of Moldova's independence and Valentina Golubeva—by the reluctance to be a deputy from the Soviet Communist Party, the leadership of which cast a shadow on the entire party of communists by its shameful inaction during the August events.

Some deputies said they were leaving parliament because of switching to another job, changing the place of residence and some explained their withdrawal simply by the "impossibility to fulfil deputy's responsibilities".

Political & Social

Gorbachev Appeals for Union Treaty Approval

LD0312184891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Radio and television address by USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on his appeal to the deputies of the sovereign republics for approval of the

Union Treaty, in Moscow on 3 December—recorded; from the "New Wave" program]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: On 25 November of this year, the State Council sent the draft Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States to the Supreme Soviets of the republics and the USSR. When it did so, you will recall, the State Council expressed the hope that the Supreme Soviets would organize their work on the new draft treaty in such a way as to have it ready for signing this year. Thus the fate of the treaty, and therefore the fate of the country, is in the hands of the Supreme Soviets of the sovereign states. It is this that determines the full measure of responsibility borne by the Supreme Soviets, and by each member of the legislature. In the current, highly alarming situation, when lack of unity between the republics has reached dangerous proportions—has even reached, I would say, a point where it takes on a basically destructive character—we must do everything to get the new treaty, the treaty on the union of sovereign states, signed more quickly.

I sent an appeal today to the deputies of all the sovereign states. What made me do so? Above all, the fact that without the slightest exaggeration the country is in danger, the fatherland is in danger, and the greatest danger is the crisis of statehood. Without solving this, without getting out of this crisis, we will not be able to deal with all the tasks connected with reform, whether political or economic, and with improving the whole situation in the country and people's lives. The collapse of the state is at hand, and it is accompanied by the collapse—the destruction—of society, public relations, interaction, and cooperation between peoples, republics, regions, labor collectives, and scientific collectives. It is having an effect on our cultural relations, which always used to unite our peoples and were the object of our pride, our especial pride. It is affecting everything, the whole of life, and for this reason this collapse must be stopped by dint of common effort—and moreover, this must be done without delay.

On its own, no one republic can get itself out of the difficult situation in which we now find ourselves. We need to take this on board, all of us, wherever we live, whichever republic we live and work in. The richest and strongest of them, the Russian Federation, will not be able to manage successfully the tasks and reforms with which it has now begun to deal, which it has now begun to implement. Russians must realize this as well, and I think that they all do. My recent visit to Irkutsk Oblast convinced me of that. In pride of place in every conversation with the people of Irkutsk was the matter of maintaining the Union. People feel that the destruction of the Union is turning out to have grave consequences not only for the region, but for the working collectives, for each individual. Whereas together—even though this, too, will be difficult, and we have to be honest about this—we will be able to surmount and overcome the problems that have swamped us.

The main issue of whether or not a union should exist was, at least in the majority of republics, decided by the citizens of the country at the referendum in March of this year. Now, without wasting any time, we need to discuss the treaty, and sign it. It needs to start to come into effect in the near future, and we need to resolutely determine that what we need is not some sort of indeterminate, badly organized, barely administered union, but a new multiethnic state—fundamentally reformed and taking into account the republics' new role, a fundamental reallocation of powers between the center and the republics. Yes, that is just how it is. But we definitely need to preserve the state. In the draft Union treaty, this state needs to be—as the State Council has resolved, having discussed all these problems many times—a union of sovereign states, a confederative and democratic state.

In my appeal to deputies, I have spoken with complete frankness about the consequences that await us all if we permit the collapse of the state. The collapse of such a multiethnic community will bring to millions of our citizens a misfortune which will outweigh all the possible temporary benefits of separation. There is much speculation about this at the moment. This needs to be said. And first and foremost, the separation and collapse will pose the most difficult, the most complex conditions possible, for millions of citizens living outside the boundaries of their national republics.

On this account, we already have our own bitter experience. Look at the Baltics. On the one hand, how many assurances were there there that everything would be provided for and guaranteed? And then, look at real life as it is today. In what position have the citizens of other nationalities found themselves?

They are in such a position that the world community is displaying alarm at what is happening in the Baltics. We in this country feel this all the more because there are streams of letters coming from there calling on us to defend them. But if the Union is destroyed instead of being reformed, then tens of millions of people will be in the same position. This applies to all republics. It applies to all the republics. Disintegration brings the danger of ethnic, interrepublican clashes, even wars. This would be a catastrophe for all of us, and for the whole of the world community.

For the way we have lived up to now has meant that within our state there have been administrative borders, but not state borders. Decisions have been made here, for various reasons, to transfer particular regions from one republic to another, and even separate regions, some portion of the lands. This was considered normal and natural, as these were internal problems of the state in which we lived and in which we intended to live always.

And so, if the Union exists in this way and if there is this feeling, then we will look at these problems in this way. But if the Union begins to fall apart, then we will be faced with all of these problems. These are difficult problems.

Without the Union the whole of our economy will be in a difficult position. In general, splitting up would strike a destructive blow at the productive forces, so closely are they linked in a single complex. We do not like this phrase single complex, but it exists whether we like it or not.

I have just visited Kyrgyzstan; I have visited the machine-building works. Its production is needed very much by all the agrarians in the country. There is a special demand for two machines: they can only satisfy 20 percent of this demand for one machine, and 30 or 40 percent for the other one. Why? Because they do not receive all the necessary things—first of all metal for producing these machines. They used to receive it from the Magnitka [Magnitogorsk Metallurgy Combine] and Dnepropetrovsk. National economic links have been disrupted. The works has stopped operation. The agrarians need these machines; people would like to work and have all the possibilities for that, but economic links have been upset and disrupted, and everything has come to a halt. And this is the simplest example. There are enterprises which receive components from 200, 300 or 400 enterprises. There are enterprises which receive components from 800 enterprises located in other republics. And now we are embarking upon... [changes thought] we are moving toward the market, we are really moving toward the market, something which is being accompanied by a serious restructuring of the entire economy and economic links. Let us add to that that we will supplement this most difficult process—and this is a very difficult process, we have already felt this—with all that mess which will accompany a break between republics and a disintegration of the Union.

I am saying all this frankly to the deputies. If we permit the disintegration to happen, it will push back all the sovereign states and all the peoples in the sense of developing science, culture, and technology. The other day, when I was at the Bolshoi Theater, I was told a very sad piece of news—that the opera and ballet theater had practically disintegrated. In any case, the ballet company is in Estonia. The performers who worked there and represented other nationalities and other republics have dispersed. And now Moscow. The Bolshoi company goes on business trips and helps to stage performances, but generally speaking, the performance has disintegrated. [as heard]

Many representatives of the republics, including those at the top level—their leaders—are saying bluntly that if the breakup of scientific links is allowed to happen, then this will lead to the collapse of many scientific kollektivs in the republics. That's the situation, whatever aspect of our life we wish to take. All this is very serious.

Without the Union, the gradual erosion of our common security and the security of the republics is inevitable; and the loss of international prestige, for which all our peoples have paid dearly and which means a great deal to all our citizens, is also inevitable. But at the end of the day we should not forget that in recent years, our state has become one of the main buttresses in the development of the world to a new order of peace. Just imagine what would happen if this buttress should collapse. Everyone realizes what would accompany the destruction of the main buttresses carrying the buildings they support. There would be a chain reaction, with consequences that would be difficult to predict.

I recall all this in my address to the deputies of the Supreme Soviets of all the sovereign states, so that they understand what is at issue, realize once more what it is that they will be debating, and which decision they should make. I have more than once set forth my point of view regarding the concept of a new Union, and in this address to the deputies I stress once more that the issue is not the revival of the old center, the bureaucratic center. The old Union is no more, and there can be no return to it. This is proved also by the collapse of the August putsch. The issue is the creation of an entirely new state, a new multinational state. Precisely this idea is contained within the draft treaty.

My position is unambiguous: I advocate a new union, a union of sovereign states, a confederate democratic state. On the threshold of the debates in all the Supreme Soviets of the sovereign states, I wish my position to be well known. Also, we cannot delay. No political maneuverings can now be allowed. That could mean a catastrophic loss of time.

Therefore, I appeal to all authorized representatives of the people to debate in the coming days the draft of the treaty on a union of sovereign states, and approve it. I think that the citizens of the country, in all the republics, will demonstrate their essential interest in this, for perhaps the most important question of our present and future is being decided—the life of our enormous country.

Shevardnadze Discusses Treaty With Yeltsin

LD0412123691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Problems connected to the Union treaty were discussed today during a one-on-one meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze, Minister for External Relations. This was reported to an INTERFAX correspondent following the meeting by Shevardnadze, who stressed that there were no disagreements between the two parties. If the treaty does not come about, the minister said, the already difficult situation will become sharply aggravated. Everything will now depend on the deputies, to whom the draft Union treaty has been sent.

Shevardnadze said Boris Yeltsin would shortly be in contact with the Soviet president and also with his colleagues from the other sovereign republics.

Yavlinskiy Warns Against Treaty Delay

924A0254A Moscow TRUD in Russian
27 Nov 91 pp 1, 2

[Article by G. Yavlinskiy: "We Are Coming to the End of the Line, We Must Not Delay: In Order To Make the Treaty on the Economic Community Work It Is Necessary To Adopt a Package of Agreements"]

[Text] **A few days ago the heads of state of the former Soviet republics and the heads of government were sent a package of documents—the appendix to the Economic Community Treaty. The package contained 24 agreements concerning important issues common to all the republics, such as pension provisions, migration, customs rules, procedure for settling property disputes, prices and supplies, warning for states of emergency and cooperation when a state of emergency is declared, and so forth.**

Why are these agreements needed? Do they not infringe on the sovereignty of the republics? Will they make it possible to start to stabilize the economy, which is now hurtling toward the abyss? The well-known economist G. Yavlinskiy, under whose leadership both the Economic Community Treaty and the drafts of the 24 agreements were drawn up, considers this.

At this time of crisis we are observing a strange situation. In order finally to extricate ourselves from crisis it is necessary to agree as quickly as possible on economic issues that are common to the republics. Otherwise it is simply impossible to move ahead. So take, for example, an issue that is well understood—the pension issue. In January an old man who moved his place of residence a few years ago goes to the post office for this pension and they say to him: "The position with respect to your pension is not very clear. You have lived all your life in Vorkuta, in another republic, so now, forgive us, we will have to look into this matter..."

And what of transport, or power engineering? Can they one day be isolated in each republic? In short, it is essential to make meaningful decisions very quickly about what will happen next. You want to introduce your own currency, please go ahead. However, be specific about this. It is impossible to introduce a currency in less than six months or a year. This means that we must somehow be able to live together during that time. Preparatory documents bind no one, they merely build a bridge along the road of cooperation among sovereign republics. So let us reach some agreement among ourselves (and with the center).

It seems to me that our main trouble today is that the leadership of the republics is not ready to make decisions that must be made, and now. They cannot make reference to someone else, no one will decide anything for them, and they (the presidents, the prime ministers, and the parliaments) must assume responsibility. And this has turned out to be agonizing.

In my opinion it is people's interests that should be the main thing in these decisions. Not just everyday decisions, but long-term decisions. This means that in order to organize things seriously and for the sake of stabilization it is necessary to deal with the difficulties that may arise.

But if, common sense and economic logic notwithstanding, obstacles of a purely political nature are raised, this will essentially mean disregarding the citizens.

Time is running out, just like coming to the end of the line...

On 14 November our group of experts sent to the republics the various scenarios for solutions to key questions. Well, we thought, some will pick one scenario, some another, and then it will be possible to bring them all together. However, there is nothing to bring together; only one republic responded.

So now 24 specific projects have been sent. Taking into account the extreme complexity of the situation, it was possible to draw up those documents and agree them in the main with representatives of the republics a month and a half earlier than envisaged by the treaty. Thus, the possible schedule for ratification has been brought as close as possible.

Like the treaty itself, the agreements are aimed at accelerating the formation of a market economy and dealing with the crisis on the basis of development of private initiative and entrepreneurship, and liberalization of prices and of foreign trade activity. It is a question of implementing measures to coordinate policy in the field of macroeconomic stabilization and creating the minimum conditions essential for the functioning of the republics' national economies.

Thus, the package of agreements is a specific mechanism whereby the provisions of the treaty can be implemented.

Work on the agreements has shown that from professional positions and from the standpoint of economic logic, realization of the treaty in full and creation of the mechanism necessary to do this are undoubtedly possible.

In our opinion, it is of vital importance that the treaty enter into force this year. If we fail to do this the negative consequences for the economy and for the population will be extremely serious.

On what is this conclusion based?

The money in circulation is growing like an avalanche; in the last nine months it has increased from 989 billion rubles [R] to R1.7 trillion, and by the end of the year may reach R2 trillion. The very powerful generators of this are the deficits in both the Union and the national budgets, the growing credit expansion, and the "liberalization" of incomes. All of this has led to the total loss of all the ruble's functions. This is exactly why economic links are either being broken or are increasingly becoming barter, while the ruble is being increasingly supplanted from the domestic market. The ruble rate at auctions has already fallen beyond the mark of R100 to the dollar.

According to the most modest evaluations, without taking into account the total liberalization of incomes that has been noted, some R110 billion to R140 billion will be issued this year.

The planned artificial acceleration of these processes will in the months immediately ahead lead to very strong inflation which will hit the banks, economic links, and investment. All of this will be an additional factor in worsening the decline in output with its accompanying closure of enterprises, and unemployment.

It is now difficult to predict how the prices for specific commodities will grow. But it does follow from this process, and also the continuing decline in output, that the level of consumption for some part of the population may be sharply curtailed within the interval of one quarter. The consequences of this are easy to predict.

The hope that the situation may be "caught" by balancing the budget, monetary reform, and the introduction of national currencies, or some other hitherto unknown method, is unjustified.

The fact is that in order to carry out monetary reforms and introduce national currencies, not to mention clearly established state borders, political stability is essential, which under the conditions of strong inflation is virtually impossible under democratic conditions.

Moreover, certain illusions are still harbored that the fuel-and-energy complex and transport will continue to operate through inertia, as it were. The truth is that, according to the predictions, this year coal extraction will be sharply curtailed. Fuel reserves in the national economy are now significantly less than last year's, particularly at enterprises in the Ukraine (17 percent down), Belarus [Belorussia] (27 percent), Turkmenia (39 percent), and Armenia (38 percent). Supplies of fuel for the population are deteriorating steadily.

In general, however, to judge from the figures available, today the most important base sectors of the economy continue to operate at a level that makes it possible to get through the winter period without special upheavals. But the consequences for power engineering and transport, both naturally and artificially going into an inflationary spiral in the months immediately ahead, may lead to the collapse of the fuel-and-energy complex, as has happened already with trade, the production of consumer goods, and other spheres.

Foreign trade will become yet one more factor in the rapid deterioration of the situation.

In the last nine months exports have declined 31 percent, and the limitations on hard currency earnings have resulted in a sharp cutback in imports (43 percent), including raw materials and equipment for the light and food industries, and also consumer goods.

Ultimately all these problems are having their effect on people. During the last nine months (that is, even before real inflation started) demand from the population for material boons and services fell 17 percent, while real incomes for families fell relative to the corresponding period last year in all the republics without exception. In particular republics the decline was as much as 26 percent. The numbers of the population with incomes lower than the living minimum set by the republics has reached almost 100 million people—one-third of the country's population.

The presence of such poverty right on the eve of the unfolding of great events will very quickly give rise to hotbeds of social tension and interethnic conflict that one way or another will involve the populations of almost all the republics.

The first serious symptoms have already appeared. As of 15 September a total of 710,000 citizens who have been forced to leave their permanent places of residence had been registered. The refugee problem has affected virtually all the republics.

Experience shows that a sharp increase in this kind of migration is the prologue to serious civil disturbances.

In our opinion, even the list of reasons presented here is quite enough to make it essential to bring the treaty into force as quickly as possible.

We are aware that in and of itself the treaty cannot exhaustively solve all these and many other issues. It is understandable that the mechanisms created at this time for its realization will require further improvement. We are convinced, however, that without the treaty none of the problems mentioned can be resolved, nor can the corresponding macroeconomic program be implemented

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Silayev Opens Economic Committee Meeting

LD0312142591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1323 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—Very important issues of the country's economic life are on the agenda of the meeting of the council of the heads of government of the Economic Community states which opened today. Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, who opened the meeting, said that examination of the issue of serving the USSR's external debt as well as of coordinating actions of the sovereign states of the Economic Community during the implementation of the economic reform proposed by the Russian Government is expected to take place today.

The meeting is also to discuss the text of the address to the Paris Club with regard to implementing the communique on suspending the payments of the main debt and draft economic agreements to the Economic Community Treaty.

The council is expected to sit for three days. It is currently meeting behind closed doors.

At the beginning of today's meeting the heads of government of the Economic Community states confirmed Vladimir Mashits, Kalyk Abdullayev, and Dzhamshed Karimov as full representatives from Russia, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan to the Interstate Economic Committee.

Fokin Comments on Debt

OW0312191991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpts] The Council of Premiers of 12 sovereign republics opened its session in Moscow Tuesday [3 December]. The session is expected to last 3 days.[passage omitted]

The Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin told IF [INTERFAX] shortly before the Council went into session that the text of the external debt treaty to be considered by the republican leaders had undergone "absolutely unjustifiable changes" in comparison with its original version which had stipulated, among other things, that the republics could bear both individual and collective responsibility for the country's debt. The present version provides only for collective responsibility.

Mr Fokin described as "a major drawback, if not forgery" the fact that "they are taking pains to turn the Soviet Union's external debt into that of the Economic Community member countries." The Ukraine, according to him, would insist on restoring the individual and collective responsibility provision in the treaty's text.

IF's correspondent notes that during the recent talks with the G7 delegation in Moscow Mr Fokin promised that the Ukraine would subscribe to collective responsibility as soon as the experts prepared a set of agreements clearly defining each republic's share in the USSR's external debt. This work is already over now.

The Council of 12 premiers intends to consider a package of draft economic agreements to be signed within the framework of the Economic Community Treaty, and discuss ways of pooling the republics' efforts to see through the economic reforms program suggested by Russia's government.

Failure To Agree on Debt

LD0312213391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2002 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—The meeting of the Council of Heads of Governments of the member states of the Economic Community today failed to reach a final decision on the fate of the USSR's foreign debt. After further work by the experts, the heads of government will return to this question again in the near future.

The meeting today took place behind closed doors, with no journalists being admitted. As Vitold Fokin, Ukrainian prime minister, and Vladimir Mashits, plenipotentiary representative of the Government of Russia in the Interstate Economic Committee, explained to the TASS correspondent, the heads of states confirmed that each of the former republics of the Union should have a single quota in determining both its proportion of the foreign debt and its share of the assets. For Russia the quota is about 61 percent, for the Ukraine, approximately 16 percent. The experts have been instructed to define precisely the quotas for all the republics.

Debate was also aroused by the position of Russia, which is calling for diamonds to be excluded from the list of the USSR's assets that are to be divided up since they are produced only on the territory of Russia. Although other questions also arose, the majority of the participants in the meeting expressed the intention of participating constructively in resolving the question of the country's foreign debt. Vladimir Mashits stated that he was optimistic that the question would be resolved: "It is possible that mutually acceptable compromises will be found."

The second point on the meeting's agenda was the coordination of the actions of the sovereign states in implementing the economic reform proposed by the Russian Government. The republic's Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar delivered a report. He later told journalists: No fundamental disagreements were voiced at the meeting about the direction of the transformations or about the measures to implement them. "However, Russia is interested in begining the reforms as quickly as possible," while the majority of the republics are asking for a delay, which they need to prepare for the reforms. Yegor Gaydar stated that the start of the reforms "is a question of two to six weeks"..."President Yeltsin's decree liberalizing prices can come into force when he considers it necessary." The vice premier also stated that if they manage to establish strict control over the budget deficit then in 1992 retail prices will increase by no more than five-fold.

Tomorrow the meeting of the Council of Heads of Governments will continue its work.

Grachev Addresses Ukraine, Kazakhstan Elections

LD0312161691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Viktor Runov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—In the opinion of President Mikhail Gorbachev, the results of the nationwide elections that were held in Kazakhstan and the Ukraine convincingly demonstrate the will of the peoples of those republics to strengthen their independence. They give additional freedom of action for a conscious choice regarding their participation in the new union of sovereign states. This was stated at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists by Andrey Grachev, head of the USSR president's press service.

Mikhail Gorbachev considers the prospects for signing the Union treaty fully realistic, since he proceeds from the fact that the independence of the Ukraine or any other republic is not an obstacle in the process that forms the basis of progress toward the new Union treaty. On the contrary, it is precisely the full sovereignty of the republics that provides an opportunity to adopt a balanced, voluntary decision regarding their participation in the future Union. The president believes, Andrey Grachev noted, that the most effective way to solve the problems that have emerged is not the disconnection, but the redistribution of powers and the renewal of Union structures based on the full sovereignty of all republics.

Implications of Urkraine Independence

LD0312212191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1735 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Viktor Runov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—The Russian leadership has taken a position of active support on the question of Ukraine's independence, stated Andrey Grachev, the USSR president's press secretary, at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists. According to him, Boris Yeltsin has been one of the authors of the initial draft Union treaty. Russia has confirmed its interest in completing and signing the Union treaty as soon as possible. Touching on the suggestion made by Ukrainian leader Leonid Kravchuk that the four republics of the former Union should be given access to the nuclear button, Andrey Grachev noted that this question will be a matter for the most thorough and balanced negotiations between Ukraine, the center, and all those republics on which territories the nuclear weapons are situated. This problem certainly has international implications, stressed the USSR president's press secretary.

Replying to a question as to whether Mikhail Gorbachev intends to resign as a result of the failure of the signing of the Union treaty, Andrey Grachev said that it is not a matter of some ultimatum in this connection, but simply of an appraisal of the current political situation. Taking into account the fact that work on the draft is now in progress in the republics without the direct participation of the USSR president, he believed it to be useful to accompany this process with his appraisal which would be expressed in his address on the first program of Central Television.

Having touched on Canada's intention to recognize Ukraine's independence, Andrey Grachev recalled that this statement was accompanied by important conditions. At any rate the Soviet side proceeds from the fact that the results of the Ukrainian referendum testify to the intention and resolve of the citizens of this republic to confirm in the fullest form their right to sovereignty. We do not regard the results of the vote in Ukraine as a striving to break with the Union, Andrey Grachev noted. There is reason to assume that if the question in the referendum had been formulated somewhat differently, and if it had been a matter not of approving the act of proclamation of independence but of preserving relations with the Union, results could have been different. In this way the referendum can be regarded as a strengthening of the republic's sovereignty, something that does not stand in the way of the establishment on a new democratic basis of natural interrelations with the remaining parts of the country of which Ukraine has been a part considerably longer than the Soviet Union has existed.

Gorbachev Discusses Political Outlook, Reform

PM0312153191 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 91 p 3

[Interview with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev by Observer Yuriy Shchekochikhin in the Kremlin on the evening of 28 November; first 10 paragraphs are Shchekochikhin introduction: "'Every People Is a Divine Phenomenon'—Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Conversation With LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Observer Yuriy Shchekochikhin"]

[Text] What is he? The destroyer of an empire? Or its supporter? A democrat? Or a communist? A winner of the Nobel peace prize? Or a man who has destroyed peace and order on one-sixth of the world's land surface? Someone who has given us freedom? Or someone who has deprived us of basic prosperity?

I think there is no more enigmatic figure in contemporary history than Mikhail Gorbachev.

I remember a spring rally in the center of Moscow where people were shouting, supporting the orator (oracle?): "Gorbachev out! Gorbachev out!" But I also remember those August hours before dawn outside the White House when the crowd, taking the motorcade of Rutskoy or Silayev for his presidential motorcade, chanted in delight: "Pre-si-dent! Pre-si-dent!"...

He ascended the throne as master of a great military monster, and immediately won us over by being different from all the proprietors of the state who had preceded him. It would have been far simpler (at least think how many more jokes there would have been!) if Chernenko had been succeeded by Grishin, and Grishin by Romanov, and Romanov by some other leader who had grown old enough for the role. We would have lived on, arguing about politics only in smoke-filled kitchens, surreptitiously reading Solzhenitsyn (risking a year or two in jail for illicit reading), and cursing the jamming that prevented us from listening to the free voices on Radio Liberty and Voice of America. He shattered the familiar way of life that had taken shape over the generations of the "Soviet people." He did what would have been fatal to his predecessors—he destroyed the distance separating the Leader from his subjects. Maybe doing this in a traditionally servile country was fatal to his well-being. People began to curse him—at first timidly, proud of their boldness and shocked that "Black Marias" did not pull up outside because of this criticism, and then increasingly confidently, boldly, and insistently. And then they cursed him regarding this as only fit and proper, and whereas yesterday, only yesterday, public speakers used to begin their speeches with hosannas to "faithful Leninists," today often the very same people boast to each other of their hatred of him ("At least Ligachev was sincere," he [Gorbachev] remarked to me during our conversation).

In other words, I now realize, as usual in history, the slaves had the loudest voices. The slaves for whom the master's weakness has always meant their own strength as slaves.

He has made a lot of mistakes, but why do we react to his mistakes more emotionally than we did to his predecessors? Maybe because he set us free on one-sixth of the world's land area. And he has paid for this. And maybe he will have to pay some more.

Oh, would that our country were different! The whole honest world would envy such a leader! But in our country it is not Bush succeeding Reagan! It is the System succeeding the System...

Maybe he himself still does not realize why he is cursed in the waiting lines (but he came to us not from Australia but from Stavropol party kray committee): After all, for generations a society artificially deprived of the right of ownership placed on the Master all responsibility for sausage and bread. But he, who knows what kind of president of who knows what kind of country, goes on about spiritual freedom, the reckless brutality of rulers, and a fair choice of modes of thought and ways of life with the persistence of a missionary.

And how else are we going to remember him...

Maybe those were my thoughts as I returned along a deserted Kremlin corridor last on the evening of 28 November after a long one-on-one conversation with him.

[Shchekochikhin] Until your recent trip to Irkutsk and Bishkek you had not seen the country for quite a long time. Did you notice anything new now?

[Gorbachev] People are not losing their heads. And everybody is fed up with political blather, everyone is in favor of forward movement. That is point one. And point two is the wish to preserve the Union. Do you know what all the recent polls have shown? There are now more people in favor of the Union than there were even in March. Life has now burned many people. And they now realize the need to preserve statehood at their own personal, everyday level.

[Shchekochikhin] But, Mikhail Sergeyevich, according to our forecasts, the Ukraine will vote for independence...

[Gorbachev] So what's wrong with that?

[Shchekochikhin] I personally see nothing wrong with it...

[Gorbachev] Everyone in our country has now proclaimed independence. But what is independence? If someone wants to interpret independence as breaking with other peoples, then that is a distortion. Independence is a greater degree of freedom.

[Shchekochikhin] But, Mikhail Sergeyevich, again taking the Ukraine, I have been astonished by the rapid transformation of party leaders. Only yesterday they were fighting against the Ukrainian Independence Movement [Rukh] and rejecting any possibility of seceding from the Union, but today their position is far more rigid than that of the leaders of the Ukrainian Republican Party. You know many of them, they were colleagues and party comrades of yours. It seems to me that today many party functionaries are trying to "wash themselves clean" of their party past. Maybe even to suppress their inferiority complex caused by Moscow's rigid party diktat?

[Gorbachev] Then let us return to the point of departure and everything will fall into place.

[Shchekochikhin] What is that point so far as you are concerned?

[Gorbachev] The August putsch. The Ukrainian Communist Party's leading organs received a telegram from the Moscow Central Committee calling on them to support the putschists' actions. It was a two-paragraph telegram, but the Ukrainian Central Committee transformed it into an appeal running into one and a half or two pages. They were active supporters of the putchists.

[Shchekochikhin] I did not know that.

[Gorbachev] And the most interesting thing is that when, after the putsch, the Supreme Soviet met in Kiev and adopted the decision to hold the referendum on independence (meaning by this separation from the Union), only a few deputies voted against. That is, it turned out that people who had portrayed themselves as supporters of the Union suddenly aligned themselves with the extreme separatists. So there you have the situation.

[Shchekochikhin] Did this come as a surprise to you—such a rapid change of position by your party comrades?

[Gorbachev] Everything here is more serious than that. What do my personal emotions, impressions, and feelings or yours matter?... Now is a great time, a responsible time, and everything personal must be pushed aside. Today the most important thing is to preserve the country, to preserve the community of peoples, to preserve the human world, our interethnic world in which human lives are so closely interwoven as to be inextricable. Jesus Christ could not undo these knots. A year and a half ago I was already saying: God forbid that the Ukraine's people support extreme separatist trends. It is shameful when Russians and Ukrainians are reduced to confrontation.

[Shchekochikhin] Often this was done on purpose. Destroy, set people against each other... I remember a party oblast committee lecturer in Lugansk going to the oblast Central Statistical Administration to deliver a lecture on the topic "Rukh Versus Statistics."

[Gorbachev] It is a question of the fate of our country. Nowhere in history have totalitarian, dictatorial regimes relied on totalitarian ownership. Only in our country! All the others existed under private ownership, and that is something completely different. The task that faced us is totally new. And also the country is a multinational one... People are returning to the process of self-knowledge, to the quest for their roots. And every people—small or large—is a divine phenomenon, and no one is entitled to deny a people, especially a small people, the right to study and know themselves. All this is adding to our problems. Plus the fact that this is a huge country. Plus the suppression of dissent (but that is typical of all totalitarian regimes) and the political monopoly of ideas—all this had to be reformed. Do you think it is so easy to arrive at democracy by using just one lever—glasnost, words, and not force?

[Shchekochikhin] But maybe (I have often heard this said) our path from a totalitarian regime to democracy lies via a totalitarian regime?

[Gorbachev] Perhaps an authoritarian regime.

[Shchekochikhin] As in Georgia?

[Gorbachev] I think Georgia is an anomaly. At the fifth Congress of People's Deputies I went up to the Georgian deputation and asked what was happening in their republic. They said to me: "Don't interfere, Mikhail Sergeyevich. Or they'll sling mud at you... We will sort ourselves out." I think things are difficult there. This situation is abnormal for the Georgian people—intelligent, talented, democratic... I constantly think of Merab Mamardashvili—I not only studied with him but we used to go to the same room in the hostel where our future wives lived. Merab was not only a philosopher to be reckoned with. He was an incredibly moral man.

[Shchekochikhin] Recently a Georgian guy came to see us at the editorial office, a student who had been virtually expelled from his institute for holding a rally in memory of Merab.

[Gorbachev] He was expelled down there?

[Shchekochikhin] Yes, down there in Tbilisi.

[Gorbachev] It's incomprehensible...

[Shchekochikhin] Going back to what you were saying: How can we move toward a new democracy? Away from a totalitarian regime, as you said, via an authoritarian regime?

[Gorbachev] It was my intention to ensure that, for the first time in all the age-old history of our country, turning points were passed without bloodshed.

[Shchekochikhin] But there is a lot of bloodshed now!

[Gorbachev] You know, I will be blunt with you, matters have not yet reached the point of great bloodshed.

[Shchekochikhin] Might they reach it?

[Gorbachev] Everything must be done to ensure that they do not. So my task is to advance democratic processes and, most importantly, to ensure that the people are involved in these processes. Yes, today there are difficulties with one thing, with another, with yet another, but we cannot lose what we thirsted for for so long without attaining. Namely this oxygen: spiritual struggle, political freedom—the things that are really at the core of being human. Namely an atmosphere in which the values and principles whereby man can realize himself as an individual are realized. Yes, we need order, but not the kind of order the putschists wanted. No, people no longer want to bid farewell to what they have gained.

[Shchekochikhin] Although, of course, there is now colossal nostalgia for the past. Whether because of tiredness, or because of the totally empty shelves in the stores.

[Gorbachev] Because of both. In Irkutsk I could see that people's patience is running out. Nevertheless, I understood the impulses in their hearts, I could sense that people understand the entire burden of responsibility incumbent on the president.

[Shchekochikhin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, during your trips can you always distinguish the truth from the "Potemkin villages" that are palmed off on you and can you tell the "shepherds and shepherdesses" who are obsequiously planted in the crowd for you?

[Gorbachev] Of course! They can save themselves the effort! I can see through absolutely everything. I already know the whole story. We went to a commercial store in Irkutsk, the shelves were full, and it transpired that a refrigerator truck of food had been specially brought there at night. Although people say that the situation is different in commercial stores and state stores. Things are a bit better in commercial stores. Admittedly, the prices are way too high.

[Shchekochikhin] So does truthful information about what is happening in the country reach you?

[Gorbachev] It does. Letters also reach me, including abusive ones.

[Shchekochikhin] Because I know that before the putsch you were given a lot of disinformation, which Kryuchkov palmed off on you via Boldin.

[Gorbachev] That information was deliberately channeled to me, their aim was to get me to introduce emergency measures. Not only was tendentious information deliberately selected, but events were even staged in such a way that they could then be used to concoct this disinformation.

[Shchekochikhin] How did this work?

[Gorbachev] They would go somewhere on instructions from the Russian Communist Party Central Committee and organize sometimes a meeting with party secretaries, but wherever possible a meeting with ordinary Communists (admittedly, this was less successful—it was easier to fix something up with the secretaries: an aktiv meeting, a plenum, and so forth), and then there would be a protest resolution containing demands addressed to me. Categorical demands! But I had the feeling that these resolutions had been written back in Moscow, before the visit to the locality.

[Shchekochikhin] Did you know that—to beef up the numbers!—entire busloads of "participants" were brought in from Belorussia for rallies in Lithuania?

[Gorbachev] I didn't know that. Incidentally, even before the January events very tough demands were coming in from there, from Lithuania. Not only from party structures. Real difficulties—the anxiety of retired or serving officers—were interwoven with ones which were born in offices on Staraya Square [site of CPSU Central Committee building]. The demands were quite tough—introduce presidential rule...

[Shchekochikhin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, even now some things are still a mystery to me. On 10 July I published an article entitled "The Lithuanian Card" about the sinister role the KGB played during the January events in Vilnius, and on that same day, 10 July, I sent you a letter... Did it reach you?

[Gorbachev] What was it about?

[Shchekochikhin] It was a letter demanding Kryuchkov's resignation and saying what else he might try to do...

[Gorbachev] You know, there were a lot of letters like that. Never mind individual warnings! Take events beginning with the Russian Congress, then the 28th Congress, remember what the situation was like there and the battles I had to endure? There was plenum after plenum, with exhausting battles the whole time. It was already clear that reactionary forces were mobilizing...

[Shchekochikhin] But I wrote specifically about Kryuchkov! Then, a few days later, I was supported by a few academicians who sent you a letter containing similar demands: Shatalin, Petrakov, Arbatov, Ryzhov.

[Gorbachev] What was the letter about?...

[Shchekochikhin] About the same thing mine had been. They demanded the resignation of Kryuchkov as the leader of the future conspirators.

[Gorbachev] For some reason I have no recollection of this...

[Shchekochikhin] This was reported in the newspapers and on "Vesti." Maybe these letters never reached you? Were they concealed from you?

[Gorbachev] Possibly. But those of a plot cropped up constantly. Leaders of foreign governments even called me to say: We have information that there is going to be a coup.

[Shchekochikhin] Who called, for instance?

[Gorbachev] Suddenly an urgent call came in from President Bush: "There is a report... Forgive me, I can't hide it from you, I have to say—this may not be for real, but there is going to be a coup tonight."

[Shchekochikhin] Everyone had a feeling that they would do it.

[Gorbachev] But after all, we had all done our jobs. I believed I had fulfilled my mission: Society had changed, so that any attempted coup was doomed. And therefore what I thought was this: If those who intend to perpetrate a coup have even a grain of common sense, even in the interests of saving their own skins, they would only have to calculate five or six moves ahead to realize that they would be disgraced and routed.

[Shchekochikhin] Even so, when it all happened, it came as a surprise to you? As you have said several times already, you suffered not only because of the venture itself, but also because it was undertaken by people from your own close entourage.

[Gorbachev] Certainly. I have also spoken of the enormous moral damage. Take Kryuchkov, for instance. People are now trying to make out that he was a man of limited capabilities, not very bright...

[Shchekochikhin] Not at all. As a result of the work of the commission to investigate KGB activity, it has emerged that in his own way he prepared carefully for everything. It has become known, for instance, that they were constantly tapping the telephone conversations of not only Yakovlev and Shevardnadze, but also people in your own immediate entourage. For instance, Vitaliy Ignatenko's conversations. I have heard that in Boldin's safe they found whole volumes of transcripts of Ignatenko's conversations with Yakovlev, Shevardnadze, you yourself... Even Lukyanov's conversations.

[Gorbachev] Were they bugging him too?

[Shchekochikhin] Yes. I wonder, did they listen in to the conversations in the office where we are sitting now?

[Gorbachev] God knows. I can't be sure of anything any more, but at that time I did not think they would do that. But I want to go on about Kryuchkov personally. For me, to a significant extent, what mattered, apart from what I knew myself was that Andropov had supported him.

[Shchekochikhin] And Andropov's opinion was very important to you?

[Gorbachev] For all Andropov's shortcomings—and I don't want to idealize him (his ideological views and his involvement in combating dissidence—all this was clear to me)—he was a man of great intellect and was resolutely determined against corruption. I was associated with him for a long time. I would not say we had a very close relationship, but I knew him well, and we used to meet regularly. And that is why I took on Kryuchkov, of whom Andropov had a good opinion. Anyway, where do you find people for that sphere? Andropov's attitude to Kryuchkov was a criterion for me. It is no use taking too crude a view of people. How can you say Kryuchkov is a man of limited capabilities, or Lukyanov?

[Shchekochikhin] But I would say it of Yanayev.

[Gorbachev] I did not know Yanayev so well. But that is not the point, in the end. The main thing is their political views. They sensed what lay behind the new draft party program and where the Novo-Ogarevo process was leading, and they could not see a place for themselves in that new life. In other words, profound differences had already emerged.

[Shchekochikhin] I still don't understand why they flew to Foros.

[Gorbachev] The second time?

[Shchekochikhin] Yes, after everything had come out. Why? To fall at your feet? Or what? I can see no logic in that action.

[Gorbachev] Nor can I.

[Shchekochikhin] So that visit was a mystery to you too?

[Gorbachev] Of course. Maybe they were expecting that since it had not come to bloodshed, everything would be forgotten? But that's impossible. No, most likely it was simple panic. And they panicked immediately after they declared themselves. When they came here the first time and started the rumor that Gorbachev was sick and so forth, they realized that they would have to answer for it! And they started to give ground. They had worked out a Khrushchev retirement scenario.

[Shchekochikhin] I'm afraid something even worse could have happened... On 19 August we heard at the editorial office that there could be a report that Gorbachev was mentally ill.

[Gorbachev] I think they wanted to do something like that... That was when Raisa Maksimovna had her attack. Anatoliy, my son-in-law, came in with the radio receiver and said: The BBC says there is this group of people on the way. According to the BBC they are going to present Yeltsin and the Supreme Soviet with evidence of the condition Gorbachev is in... And Raisa Maksimovna immediately said: "That means they're going to make invalids of us." I can't rule it out. But at that time we were operating under siege rules and living in a kind of fortress. There were people with automatic weapons inside. And the doctor was with us.

[Shchekochikhin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, did the identities of any of the people on the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] come as a surprise to you? Or could you have predicted that these people would be the plotters?

[Gorbachev] I certainly did not think they would go as far as a putsch.

[Shchekochikhin] You know, Gurov told me something—the former chief of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Sixth Administration.

[Gorbachev] Yes, yes, I know.

[Shchekochikhin] Six months before the putsch they had evidence that Starodubtsev was involved in smuggling and had smuggled in audiocassettes worth 6 million rubles.

[Gorbachev] Starodubtsev? He bought cassettes? I didn't know that, no.

[Shchekochikhin] So when they caught him, a document arrived from the Cabinet of Ministers, saying all the contraband should be given back to Starodubtsev. Even before that they had two volumes of evidence about how Yazov and other military leaders spent several hundred thousands of official money on refurbishing their personal apartments.

[Gorbachev] Yazov?

[Shchekochikhin] Yes, Yazov! When I heard that the plotters had done a bit of stealing on the side, I realized once again that morality and politics are incompatible.

[Gorbachev] Gurov didn't report to me!

[Shchekochikhin] He reported to Pugo. He simply couldn't get through to you. They would never let him get near you.

[Gorbachev] Today I can no longer rule it out that they may have not only set up organizational structures of some kind, but also engaged in certain machinations. And they could have used the military-industrial complex for cover, in view of its secrecy. But time and the investigation will tell, as they say.

[Shchekochikhin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, the important American Sovietologist Abe Brumberg was visiting us recently, and he said that since the fall of socialism in Eastern Europe the whole world has swung to the right.

[Gorbachev] They are always plaguing me with these questions. They start off: Who are you, Comrade Gorbachev? Or Mister Gorbachev? A communist, a socialist, a democrat? And then there is the press: "Gorbachev is totally incapable of abandoning the socialist choice..." Am I at the mercy of illusions? No.

[Shchekochikhin] I am more interested in your view of the world's future development.

[Gorbachev] Nobody has been putting into practice a deliberately formulated idea of destroying socialism. No. As long as man exists and thinks, he will be a seeker. Christianity is a quest, Tomaso Campanella is a quest. We must say frankly: The concept that has suffered defeat is the Stalinist model of socialism, it was bound to suffer defeat, because it is contrary to the very essence of the socialist idea and to a significant extent negates it. But at the same time let us not idealize capitalist society. That being so, the quest will continue on the basis of rapprochement, not confrontation, on the basis of a synthesis of the experience of all peoples. And the quest will lead us toward a more humane, democratic, and just society. Elements of socialization are present everywhere. We often divide the world simplistically into socialist and capitalist.

[Shchekochikhin] But now the very word "socialism" provokes hostility and even hatred—particularly in young people.

[Gorbachev] But not in me, because I associate socialism with political and spiritual freedom, with respect for culture, humanization, democracy.

[Shchekochikhin] That is what it means to you. But to those 20-year-olds the word "socialism" is, alas, associated more with the words "waiting line."

[Gorbachev] But I can't help it, I am myself, and those are my convictions! I respect other people's convictions. Keep your own convictions, but allow me mine. You can stay a liberal, a democrat, a conservative, or a monarchist.

[Shchekochikhin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, do you feel you are a man of the "sixties" generation?

[Gorbachev] Yes.

[Shchekochikhin] I have heard it said more than once that the failures of perestroyka (and there are, you will agree, plenty of them) also represent the failure of the liberal ideas of the "sixties men." Those ideas were fine in their time, but when your generation came to power it could only destroy what was in the way. And after that—after that nothing really works. The ideas of perestroyka may be brilliant, but taking them to their conclusion simply does not work, not because you have changed, but because the processes are different and need new people.

[Gorbachev] Every generation bears the imprint of its time. Especially a generation that was molded in an era of social change like the Khrushchev thaw. After all, we drank deeply of the old, the Stalinist. But in this generation, you will notice, there is also a certain understanding of the values of the lives of preceding generations. We do not despise our fathers' destinies, nor our grandfathers'. We knew, we still know how they refashioned the country... I can remember life before the war, our daily existence then! When I started university I had one sports shirt and one jacket. Period. Although my father was a machine operator, I was a machine operator, and my mother worked too, we lived in poverty. That was how life was. But I did not feel poor, in fact I felt fine.

[Shchekochikhin] Maybe because you thought one shirt was the norm?

[Gorbachev] No, we saw it all—good times and bad. My life was like that, I saw it all. And the year 1937 left its mark on our family.

[Shchekochikhin] You're talking about your grandfather?

[Gorbachev] Yes. And my other grandfather was put on trial for failing to fulfill the spring sowing plan. It was 1933, famine in the Caucasus, three of his six children died. This was a time of reckless cruelty and terrible disregard for human life. That is to say, none of this was easy, and it is all a part of me.

[Shchekochikhin] Your inner revolt against the system of cruelty determines your convictions as a reformer?

[Gorbachev] If I had not been inwardly convinced that everything must change, I would have operated in the same way that they used to operate, to rule, before me. Like Brezhnev—you can live like an emperor for 10 years, and after you're gone, who cares what happens then?

[Shchekochikhin] I remember you saying that before.

[Gorbachev] And is there another case in history of someone obtaining power and then giving it up of his own accord?

[Shchekochikhin] That is what is interesting about you. Like any enigma in nature.

[Gorbachev] And I assumed that was how things would be. Because I knew that system from the inside. After all, I worked for 10 years as a party kraykom [kray committee] first secretary. They say to me, on the subject of the putsch: "Gorbachev is hiding something." But I am not about to reveal everything.

[Shchekochikhin] Yes, you have repeated that enigmatic sentence several times.

[Gorbachev] And everyone thinks: So what is it that he knows?

[Shchekochikhin] Well, what is it?

[Gorbachev] The system! The system, which I studied from the inside.

[Shchekochikhin] When I met with the leaders of the "Alfa" group after the putsch and asked whether, if necessary, they could have rescued the president, they replied: in 15 minutes.

[Gorbachev] "Alfa" is mine now, not the KGB's. And the personal bodyguard—this is what Boris Nikolayevich and I agreed—is subordinate to us personally.

[Shchekochikhin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, were you afraid of the KGB? Maybe even because of your own family's experience?

[Gorbachev] No, I was not afraid. If I had been afraid of them I could not have done anything.

[Shchekochikhin] Well, maybe wary of them?

[Gorbachev] I knew their strength! And I can say now what I could not have said then, before. I had to outplay them... But the democrats were attacking Gorbachev too!

[Shchekochikhin] But remember, as soon as the right started to attack you, it was the democrats—I am talking primarily about the legislative Interregional Group—who went to your aid.

[Gorbachev] Also true! You can't change history: Both these things happened. But that is not what I am talking about. If we die in the attempt, we must safeguard what we began. Look, there are new people emerging in the economy, right?

[Shchekochikhin] Right.

[Gorbachev] On the political front there are new people, and more will emerge.

[Shchekochikhin] They will emerge and are already emerging, Mikhail Sergeyevich. But now, when you walk along streets as dark as if it was wartime, when you go into a store and are horrified, when you see people's embittered faces, you wonder: Will we live to see that day, will people stand it? Many people are saying now that there will be another putsch, which will make that one, the August one, look like a picnic. They prophesy that the streets will rise up, under the leadership of all kinds of rabble like Zhirinovskiy.

[Gorbachev] The workers have just been telling me that too. Someone is expecting another putsch. And maybe even organizing it.

[Shchekochikhin] Who?

[Gorbachev] Someone from the military-industrial complex. Someone from the party structures. So the conclusion is: Ever onward, because there is no way back for us. The reforms must be moved forward, comprehensively. And it is particularly important to give the workers the opportunity to play their part at the large state enterprises. They told me recently: If you don't do that, if we find ourselves left out of things again, it won't be the August putsch, it will be worse. What are they saying? Give us the opportunity, just like the cooperative members, to control our own labor. That is what we are moving toward now. And the third thing is social protection for those who are maintained out of the budget—the Army, teachers, doctors. Production workers will find their own opportunities.

[Shchekochikhin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, will we survive the winter?

[Gorbachev] We will survive. But everything I have been talking about demands the highest priority—it is a question of our statehood. If everything goes on like this, we will not be able to cope with anything. That is why I put the preservation of the state above everything else. Once the republics' ties are severed, economic ties are severed and cooperation is severed.

[Shchekochikhin] We were all very glad when the senseless confrontation between you and Yeltsin ended. Only coordinated actions by two people in the same boat can row us to safety.

[Gorbachev] Some people don't like it at all.

[Shchekochikhin] I think everyone has stopped trying to set you at loggerheads.

[Gorbachev] What do you mean, stopped! I could pick up any newspaper and show you. It is a futile occupation, especially when newspapers calling themselves democratic look for ways of provoking us into a head-on collision again. It's just like the way everyone is delightedly writing about how the process of forming a Union is becoming increasingly difficult. It's a kind of pyromania.

[Shchekochikhin] What did you think about the fact that Nina Andreyeva expelled you from the CPSU?

[Gorbachev] For me, it was like getting a medal. God bless her...

Public Opinion Measured on Gorbachev's Power

OW0412082491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0717 GMT 4 Dec 91

["Viewpoint" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

Has Mikhail Gorbachev Lost Power?

[Text] According to the DATA news agency, a November 9-10 opinion poll taken by the National Public Opinion Studies Center among 1002 people in 13 Russian cities showed that 72% of respondents believe Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has lost power.

14% are sure that he still controls the situation.

The rest are undecided.

Another survey taken by the center on November 9-19 in Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan found that 56% predict Gorbachev's disappearance from the political arena.

19% think he has not yet exhausted his political capabilities.

25% found it difficult to answer.

Most believers in Gorbachev's "political renaissance" live in Central Asia (25%), the smallest number—in the Ukraine (15%).

Margin of error—3%.

Economic

Abolition of Tourist Exchange Rate Explained

PM0412110991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by I. Zhagel: "Foreign Currency Tourist Rate Condemned To Die"]

[Text] A USSR Gosbank [State Bank] telegram was circulated via government channels on Friday 29 November which states that owing to the unstable situation in the internal foreign currency market, from 2 December the tourist rate of exchange of the ruble against foreign currencies is to be abolished. Banks authorized to carry out foreign currency operations will now independently set the rate at which foreign currency must be bought and sold for operations incorporating foreign currency exchange in the case of citizens traveling abroad on vacation, business trips, and for other purposes.

Despite this, the difference between the rate at which foreign currency is bought and sold is being set at no more than 10 percent. Moreover, operations may only be carried out where information about the foreign currency purchase and sale rates valid on that day are available in the banking institution. This information should be accessible in the sense of being on public view and clearly understood by the bank's clients.

In fact this telegram from the USSR Gosbank brings the foreign currency market situation into line with Russian President B. Yeltsin's recent decree on liberalizing foreign economic activity which, on RSFSR territory at any rate, abolishes the differentiation of rates depending on the sphere in which the foreign currency is used. This step can of course be recognized as reasonable, since a poor state simply cannot sell its citizens foreign currency at a rate that is too low.

And what might the rate be now? It will in any case drop sharply in comparison with the latest tourist rate which stands at 47 rubles [R] to one U.S. dollar. It is most likely that ordinary citizens will be able to buy foreign currency at the current black market rate, which is approximately R70-75 to the dollar.

Unfortunately, despite the freeing of the rates at which foreign currency is bought and sold, this does not alleviate the sufferings of many Soviet citizens who are obliged to queue for hours in order to obtain dollars, Deutsche marks, and pounds. Many banks have obtained the right to conduct foreign currency operations, but a handful of them actually work with the population. At present the banks do not have the necessary storage facilities for foreign currency in the form of cash nor do they have the halls to conduct cash operations. For example, at present only Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity], Sberbank [Bank for Labor Savings and Credit to the Population], and Menatep are working with ordinary citizens.

The following question is causing alarm: Won't such a small number of banks working directly with foreign currency in the form of cash encourage all kinds of speculative operations and an artificially high exchange rate for foreign currencies? Well yes, at the moment it would be premature to deny that this is likely. However, processes are even now under way that bear witness to the development of our foreign currency market. For example, the other day the Association of Russian Banks and the Moscow Banking Union decided to found the Moscow Interbank Foreign Currency Exchange based on the erstwhile USSR Gosbank Foreign Currency Exchange.

I would immediately like to make the reservation that for the time being the working procedure of the USSR Gosbank Foreign Currency Exchange will remain as it was before. It is simply that new forces are flowing into it, including all the largest banks that service the foreign economic activity of Soviet enterprises. The Russian Central Bank has also expressed a wish to be among the founders. So despite the sad news for many Soviet citizens that the tourist rate of exchange for the ruble is to be abolished, it must nonetheless be recognized that the foreign currency market is acquiring a very definite shape and rational rules governing the way it operates.

Vneshekonombank Resumes Foreign Currency Sales

LD0412065491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikita Maranov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—Vneshekonombank resumed the sale of foreign currency to citizens beginning today. According to Valeriy Lyulchev, deputy chairman of the board of the bank, new rates for buying and selling freely convertible currency have been set. Now, following the abolition of the tourist rate, the bank will buy foreign currency at 90 rubles [R] per dollar and sell for 10 percent more at R99, which is, incidently, lower than the market rate [birzhevoy kurs] of R110.

The "moratorium" on the payment of foreign currency to budget organizations is preserved for the time being.

Distribution Problems Hamper Food Supply

PM0412161591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2106 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Report by D. Malyshev and D. Britikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Malyshev] Those of you who have been abroad soon realized that things are cheaper at the market, even though not quite as nice to look at as in the stores. This is because the market is a direct link between producer and consumer. Without middlemen. But this is abroad. In our country, everything is the other way around.

[First stallholder] This meat is 60 rubles, see for yourselves.

[Malyshev] Why are prices going up?

[First stallholder] Because there is nothing in the stores. This is why prices are going up. It's winter—we'll get through it somehow.

[Malyshev] And then what?

[First stallholder] Then it will be spring—things might be looking up by then!

[Malyshev] In our country the market is spelled with a capital M. Prices are calculated in dollars. For anyone who has dollars, everything is lovely and cheap. These people are on the increase, and the prices are pegged to them. The market feeds the market. But what is there for the people to eat? The people no longer look for goods, they look for waiting lines, which have practically disappeared, and people take this as a sign that things must be pretty dire. If you come across a waiting line, you join it, and count yourself lucky.

[First customer] Let's try and get some meat.

[Saleswoman] There's nothing left.

[Second customer] It's terrible.

[Malyshev] In the old days, people used to pray that there would be no war, like my grandmother, for instance. What about you?

[Second customer] That is also the main thing now, let's hope that things stay calm.

[Malyshev] But what about food?

[Second customer] We'll manage somehow.

[Third customer] Occasionally there is sausage—cooked sausage, there was smoked sausage costing over 22 rubles. There was sugar, and candy. You can get candy in exchange for sugar coupons. But it will be a hard winter...

[Saleswoman, interrupting] What are you talking about? You have a refrigerator full of stuff at home. And I'm a salesperson and I have no refrigerators here in the store. I can only go shopping in the evening. And I have two children to bring up! [turning to Malyshev] There are no goods here, see for yourself. I'm standing in front of two empty shelves.

[Malyshev] Do you agree?

[Male customer] Yes, I agree. It seems to me that inflation is to blame for this. In the past, when women came shopping, they would take half a kilogram of meat, or 200 grams, now they are taking all they can get, people who used to buy a kilo or two, now take five...

[Malyshev] The amazing thing is that the city is chockablock with trucks, traffic jams everywhere. There are hundreds of vehicles. But if there isn't anything to eat, then what are they transporting?

[video changes to scene of delivery truck] Can I have a look?

[Delivery worker] Sure. Take a look—cakes.

[Truck driver] We work a double shift with this vehicle, making up to four trips.

[Malyshev] And what are you transporting?

[Truck driver] Cakes, pies, and so on.

[Malyshev] Does your firm have any problems—I don't know, with the vehicles, or with gas, or whatever?

[Truck driver] No, nothing.

[Malyshev] Everything works O.K.?

[Truck driver] Yes, our vehicles are new. They are replaced every two years.

[Malyshev] And indeed, all the stores named by the drivers were selling the goods in question. Cakes, meat—but you have to be quick.

So could it be that the countryside is the main cause of all this? Maybe the peasants have gotten carried away with the new farming methods, privatization, and politics in general, and have stopped plowing the fields. But the kolkhoz director assures us that this is not the case. Volumes have increased. Every day 12 tonnes of milk, 50,000 eggs, and so on, are dispatched to Moscow. But, of course, there are problems—for example, the peasants themselves have kept half the vegetable harvest for themselves. After all, we can't let our families starve!

Nevertheless, we found the root of the problem right here in this office. The farmer, the grower, the producer have been turned into purchasers [camera focuses on a purchaser's card on the table lying on top of price lists]. Here it is—the great and ruinous force of the system which we have now undertaken to destroy.

[Kolkhoz director] Reform, rather than destroy. What is needed...is...is...

[Malyshev] ...a mechanism for getting the food from the field right up to the table...?

[Kolkhoz director] ... exactly, right up to the consumer.

[Malyshev] But there is no such mechanism?

[Kolkhoz director] No, there is not.

[Malyshev] Actually there is, but again not in our country. Systems and technologies of this type were on display at an exhibition in Krasnaya Presnya. It seems that entrepreneurs have found the answer to the question raised earlier in our report: Why is it, if we are producing everything, that we have nothing? It does not matter how much an individual farm produces, it does not matter who does the milking, whether it is the farmer or a hired laborer. What matters is that there should be a unified production line—from the field to the table—and that it should be in the hands of one body, and strictly controlled. And this is quite feasible.

[L. Jansson, chairman of "Tetrapak"] If the people—that is the entire population—are hungry, then no authority, be it a dictatorship or a democracy, will stay in power. Stop worrying who is in power, just make sure there is food. Food deliveries to Russia are needed merely to maintain Yeltsin's government. But in order to live, what you need is first, equipment; second, technology; and third, management. By our calculations, you still produce enough food to feed half of Europe!

[Malyshev] But the goodwill of our Western friends is not unlimited. They can purchase from us, and they are prepared to sell to us. But in order to ensure that we too get some benefit out of this, we need to let peasants think for themselves, do their own accounts and work for themselves.

[video returns to store] Otherwise, nothing will change. We will continue to live in humiliation, and keep passing the blame.

[turning to crowd] Do you feel you are getting a rough deal?

[Woman in crowd] More than a rough deal, we're always last in line!

[Malyshev] What about the others...?

[various cries] Yes, yes,...

[Malyshev] Today it was Yegor Gaydar, deputy chairman of the Russian Government and minister of the economy and finances, who was getting a rough deal—he had the task of telling journalists about the results of the government session. In short, Boris Yeltsin's presidential decree on liberalizing prices is already virtually ready, there are just a few technical points remaining. Apart from free prices, regulated prices will also be introduced for a number of essential goods and services for the population. For a brief period, two months at most, the state will set the ceiling for these prices, and subsequently they too will be "released." Approximately 40 Russian presidential decrees are under preparation, geared to the market economy. It is well known that austere economic reforms can only succeed under a popular government—otherwise, they are doomed to failure. May God grant them success.

In the light of the cash crisis, new 500-ruble notes will be printed. A decision has been adopted on transferring the operational management of Union Foreign Ministry property to the Russian Foreign Ministry—including property which is abroad. Meanwhile, in the streets of our cities, the stores are empty and people are awaiting the new prices—free prices. Perhaps they will bring us goods—after all, they gave me freedom yesterday. What am I going to do with it?

Consequences of Price Liberalization Surveyed

PM2911150591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 91 p 3

[Report by V. Gerasimov, leader of Group for the Study of Public Opinion: "Prices Freed. What Next? Sociological Forecast"]

[Text] A poll of a representative sample of one in five participants in the international forum "World Experience and the USSR Economy" showed that public opinion as a whole is now ready for the introduction of free prices. Some 61 percent of those polled were in favor of this, with 30 percent against. There were most supporters of the introduction of free prices among enterprise leaders (71 percent) and fewer among chief specialists (50 percent). Free prices appeal more to men (69 percent) than to women (48 percent).

Attitudes Toward Introduction of Free Prices In favor—31 percent More in favor than not in favor—30 percent More not in favor than in favor—11 percent Not in favor—19 percent

At the same time against this seemingly entirely favorable background for the introduction of free prices there is a very important psychological barrier. It stems in large measure from the considerable amount of uncertainty and risk arising from implementation of the measures the government is planning. The consequences of liberalization are not as clear as they seem at first glance. The poll of Soviet and foreign specialists revealed that the results of liberalization, for all their bleakness, are seen by our own specialists in a rosier light than they are by their colleagues from abroad.

Prediction of the Results of Price Liberalization

[In the following survey, A) represents Soviet specialists' responses; B) represents foreign specialists' responses]
The economy "will get back on its feet"—A) 10 percent B)—
Shelves in the stores will be filled with goods—A) 17 percent B) 21 percent
Enterprises will increase their output of goods—A) 12 percent B) 5 percent
Good opportunities will be created for overcoming the crisis—A) 20 percent B) 11 percent
The shortage of goods will remain—A) 21 percent B) 32 percent
The fall in production will not stop—A) 14 percent B) 80 percent
Additional difficulties will arise in emerging from the crisis—A) 15 percent B) 32 percent
"Galloping" inflation will start—A) 27 percent B) 53 percent
Final collapse of the consumer market as well as of the economy—A) 10 percent B) 27 percent
It is not possible to do this in the absence of genuine competition (in conditions of "monopolization")—A) 34 percent B) 32 percent
Other views—A) 3 percent B) 5 percent

Judging by the statistics from the poll, the main motive of the Soviet specialists supporting the introduction of free prices is their conviction that this measure will create good opportunities for the country's economy to emerge from the crisis (31 percent), for enterprises to increase their output of goods (16 percent), and for shelves in the stores to be filled with goods (24 percent). Opponents of liberalization, on the contrary, base the inexpediency of this measure on the possibility that additional difficulties will arise in overcoming the crisis

(26 percent), on a further fall in production (27 percent), and on the final collapse of the consumer market (26 percent).

At the same time Soviet specialists—both those who support and those who do not support the idea of introducing free prices—consider that this measure will have the following consequences: "galloping" inflation (21 and 37 percent respectively), and a further shortage of goods (12 and 37 percent). And the supporters and opponents of liberalization put forward the following measures as being capable of protecting against the negative effects of freeing prices: in the absence of genuine competition (in conditions of "monopolization"), to be in no hurry to introduce free prices (25 and 51 percent), or at least to retain state-regulated prices for basic necessities (68 and 87 percent).

Overall the results of the poll of specialists evoke serious fears about the expediency of price liberalization. Additional burdens are just waiting to fall on the population, and the sacrifices which, judging by the poll, everybody will have to make may very well turn out to be in vain. The probability of stimulating the economy by introducing free prices is small. In connection with this the question arises: What is the real purpose of the liberalization and to whose advantage is it?

This research was carried out by the sociological and psychological service of the "Intertreyning" association and the Humanitarian Center of Social Technologies.

Contact telephone number: 257-32-17.

Foreign Investment Group Chief Optimistic

LD0412052191 Moscow TASS in English 1032 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—The head of the organisation to encourage foreign investment in the Soviet economy is predicting a good future for industrial development at a conference in Moscow this week.

"On the strength of our projects, we can get 150 billion U.S. dollars," Vladimir Shcherbakov, former deputy premier of the Union Cabinet of Ministers, now head of the international foundation for the Promotion of Privatisation and Foreign Investments, said in an interview published in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT GAZETTE) today.

Together with Russki Kapital joint-stock company, the foundation is holding a Soviet-U.S. conference on trade and economic cooperation in Moscow.

Shcherbakov believes foreign businesses are prepared to invest up to 150 billion U.S. dollars in projects being worked out by the foundation, for example, in the establishment of a network of non-state factories for the production of baby foods. The factories will be built by a foreign firm.

He said the foundation has ample resources and wide prospects. the foundation is a non-governmental organisation. The state did not invest "a single kopeck" in the foundation, Shcherbakov said.

The presidents of the USSR and the Russian Federation, the Soviet committee for day-to-day economic management, and the Moscow government gave the initial support to get the foundation off the ground, he said.

The foundation's supervisory council includes such Soviet and foreign politicians and economists as Arkadiy Volskiy, Anatoliy Sobchak and Yevgeniy Velikhov, Margaret Thatcher and economists Gonzalez (Spain) and Chang (Taiwan).

Possibility of 'Energy War' Envisioned

OW0312223991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] If the former Union republics do not coordinate their dealings in the fuel-energy sphere through legislation, they could find themselves on the brink of a dangerous "energy war." The general director for foreign economic ties from the Scientific-Industrial Union of the USSR (NPS), Boris Kurakin, stated this in an interview with "INTERFAX."

According to Kurakin, the disagreement among the republics on increasing their individual oil supplies and in establishing prices without the corresponding market legislation in the fuel-energy sphere threatens to seriously destabilize their economies and finances.

In connection with this, in the NPS' opinion, those enterprises which supply 65% of the country's useable oil must create an organization for a general economic territory, similar to OPEC, whose function it would be to establish a certain quota of oil for the individual republics, and to maintain a certain price for oil and oil products. In Kurakin's opinion, there could be nothing more fatal to the economy than the government's allowing no other mechanism to control oil prices than the exchange.

The NPS, according to Kurakin, is concerned by the tendency for peculiar "competition" among the Union republics and autonomous regions, to be first in line to receive foreign investments. This could lead to a situation in which those republics which produce oil could pick out the more profitable foreign partners to develop the republic, and would themselves be singled out by other countries.

The NPS feels that because of this possibility, a general package of demands for future investors must be developed urgently, on observing ecological norms, conducting investment policies, and the conditions for hiring and retraining the work force.

In addition to this, Kurakin said that one of the first tasks should be to create an interrepublican oil investment committee. Without formal leverage power, the committee would develop corresponding forecasts and legal documents which would be accepted by all those in the oil business in the country as the united "laws of the oil business" on the interrepublican market.

Oil Industrialists Establish New Association

OW2811002591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2040 GMT 27 Nov 91

[From "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Directors of Western Siberian gas and oil drilling enterprises and leading Soviet oil-processing enterprises met at a conference in Tyumen to establish an Oil Industrialists Association.

Participants believed that attempting to attract foreign capital into the oil industry while the Soviet Union has incomplete legislation and an acute shortage of finances and modern technology will cause the domestic industry to become economically dependent on transnational monopolies.

The oil industrialists hope to set up domestic oil companies which can perform well on the international market. These companies would manage the entire production cycle, from investigating hydrocarbon reserves to processing and sales. Participants at the conference said that such oil companies could only be established on the basis of a unified economic territory, where businesses do not have to fear unwarranted interference from the government.

The conference's participants set up a committee to study new ways to harmonize economic ties within the oil industry in 1992.

Gold Being Sent Abroad, Sender Unknown

92UF0264C Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 20 Nov 91 p 1

[Report by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondent Aleksandr Kiselev: "The Recipient of Gold Is Known. But Who Is the Sender?"]

[Text] The details contained in IZVESTIYA material published on 15 November made it possible to easily establish the address of the recipient of the Soviet gold in Great Britain. According to the bills of lading kept at the Aeroflot London representation, it was a British banking company, Mays Westpack Limited. I was able to discuss the issue in question on the telephone with the deputy director of this company, Mr. D.H. Saunders. He politely declined my request to confirm the fact of Mays Westpack Limited having received three and a half tonnes of domestic gold. According to Mr. Saunders, any information about account holders and company operations in precious metals constitute a commercial secret.

Mays Westpack Limited often serves as an intermediary between state banks.

I do not know whether these words of the British banker contain a key to solving the mystery of the arrival in London of the current shipment of Soviet gold. In any case, the next remark by Mr. Saunders to a certain degree cast doubts on the sensational nature of the discovery made by my IZVESTIYA colleagues. Having asked me what amount of gold we are talking about in this particular case, he said that from the point of view of Mays Westpack Limited, a precious metal shipment of 3,159 kg is far from a record one, and that such a transaction could be of a quite normal, routine nature.

It seems to me that it would make more sense to look for answers to the questions posed by IZVESTIYA in the offices of domestic power holders.

Military

Ministry Issues Statement on 'Criminal Actions'

PM0512122191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Nov 91 Second Edition p 3

[Statement by USSR Ministry of Defense Press Center: "To Put an End to Criminal Actions"]

[Text] A Transcaucasus Military District equipment repair base in Tbilisi was subjected to a treacherous attack 27 November at 0300. Around 40 armed bandits broke into the base, which has barely a dozen personnel, and killed Major V. Berilov, deputy chief of the base, who was living there with his family because of the shortage of accommodation. The massacre of an unarmed officer was carried out with particular cynicism in front of his wife and four-year-old son, who was also shot at several times. After stealing nine vehicles, the criminals went into hiding. Measures taken to find them have produced no results as yet.

This marauding attack and the vile and evil murder of an officer are just another link in a chain of criminal actions against servicemen which have become more frequent recently in a number of places. These are causing justified outrage and angry protest among officers, warrant officers, members of their families, and all Army and Navy personnel. People are demanding that the tyranny, lawlessness, and gangsterism be ended and expressing their indignation at the cases of criminals going unpunished and connivance with criminals on the part of local authorities and law enforcement organs. This is also said in numerous appeals sent to the district staff in connection with the murder of Major V. Berilov. This case is rightly judged as a graphic manifestation of legal and moral excess and yet further confirmation that such a state of affairs cannot be tolerated. It is also being stressed that such cases are likely to have unforeseen consequences.

A recently published joint statement by the USSR Ministry of Defense and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has issued a warning to those who commit illegal criminal actions against servicemen. However, such actions are continuing and furthermore, as the case of the evil murder of V. Berilov shows, they are acquiring a particularly dangerous character. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that criminal actions against the Armed Forces and servicemen will be suppressed resolutely and firmly.

Article Says 'Discontent Rife in Army'

PM0312161391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[V. Litovkin article: "Discontent Rife in Army"]

[Text] Two very similar comments have caught the public's attention recently. There was the prediction cited in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (21 November) by the well-known New York writer Edward Topol on "the next attempted military coup in the USSR" in December this year, and there were the words of Viktor Alksnis, cochairman of the "Soyuz" deputies' group, that "in the Army respect for orders has been lost" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 November)—hence the idea of the unpredictability of its conduct.

Topol writes that the threat of a putsch now stems from the middle stratum of officers and career servicemen, who are being discharged from the army in vast quantities. Alksnis warns that "we will all be given a harsh lesson," which many take to be a hint of a military coup and an orgy of dictatorship.

And whereas the comments of the "transatlantic Topol" might have been dismissed, the words of Colonel Alksnis, well known for his ability to express the fundamental mood of the great mass of officers, are alarming. What if they are based on a faultless prediction or, even more dreadful, a plan that exists in the minds of the military?

These fears are to a large extent justified. The situation in the Army, as in the country, is indeed difficult. The officers' environment, like our endless waiting lines, rallies, and meetings—I shall make an extremely acute and unusual comparison here—contains the threat of social explosion. This is not new, and clearly it has long been known that there are good reasons for it.

For example, the fact that the Army has no master. The uncertainty of its future and, most important, its present. What state is it answerable to? Whom does it serve? Whose orders should it obey? Which particular president? What precise defense ministry? To whom do its weapons and military hardware belong? Who is going to protect the lives of the military, their honor and dignity, and the safety and health of their families from rampaging political adventurism and gangsterism and from the privatizations and inventories "sanctified" by local legislative acts—and, ultimately, will it really protect them? Who will rid the Army of the intrigues of the powers that be and those who are fighting for that power, who are trying to use the men in uniform, their strength and organization for their own ambitious aims?

One could go on asking questions which have no answers. On the life without apartments, on life in encampments and barracks, on guarantees that it will be limited in duration. For those who have already left Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, Germany, and Poland. And for those who are leaving now. For those who are now sitting on their suitcases in the Baltic region.

On the possibility, finally, of letting the Army do its original job—combat training and service—rather than the futile plugging of the interminable gaps in the economies of countryside and city, in industry and on transport. On ending the psychological terror. And on protection against the onslaught of market forces.

It is not only the Army that is in this situation, moreover, but all of us. Although, unlike us, it does not have the possibility of achieving economic self-sufficiency or of doing extra, efficient work and earning unlimited pay. It does not have the right to express its discontent—via demonstrations, rallies, strikes, and political declarations. What it has in its hands are weapons. No ordinary weapons, either. If this last small island of stability in our country sinks, the country and, indeed, the world will have nothing left to count on.

This is one of the most agonizing problems today.

Nevertheless. Will there be a social explosion in the Army? Is it prepared for a new putsch, a coup? Could it become a toy, an instrument in some evil hands? I know that this worries many serious-minded politicians, too.

The answer to these questions is not to be found in declarations: The Army today is not what it was before August, its officers have learned how to think, they will not let themselves be caught out.... Real, concrete steps are needed, aimed at averting the possibility of a social explosion.

And they are already being made. The State Council has recognized the need to preserve the unified Armed Forces, especially the strategic nuclear forces, and the unity of their control. Meetings of leaders of sovereign republics at the Defense Ministry have become a regular event. Admittedly, the Ukraine and representatives of some other republics take virtually no part in them. But there is an opportunity to elaborate a single military policy, there is a common understanding of the problems and a readiness to sign a treaty on a joint military defense union in the near future. The legal status of the troops in the Baltic has also been defined, and there is the hope that soon a statute will be elaborated on their legal status and on withdrawal only after 1994. Russia is ready to accept them and is doing everything possible to that end.

There have been definite improvements in servicemen's social protection, too. President Yeltsin, addressing servicemen of the Western Group of Forces in Germany, promised to double officers' pay. In January, the army, its officers, warrant officers, and ensigns, are to receive a new, considerably increased, one-off monetary award, although it is not known whether this money will be commensurate with forthcoming rises in prices and the cost of living. But food rations in kind are being introduced for the entire officers' contingent, and in the 1992 military budget it is planned to double appropriations for capital construction, that is, housing and social, cultural, and consumer purposes. Foreign subcontractors are meeting their construction commitments.

But will these measures work? Yes, if they are consistent and are carried out with an unwavering firmness in coordination with the republics. If officers' pay is rigidly and legislatively linked and indexed to the rise in prices and the cost of living, and if the housing for the Army that has been promised and is being built is not stolen or confiscated at the last moment. If the planned withdrawal from Germany is not augmented in the coming days by the panic flight of officers' families from the Baltic region, the Transcaucasus, and Moldova....

There are very many of these "ifs." But there is still hope that the Army will not be torn asunder by a social explosion. Pray God that this hope is realized.

Officer on Navy Withdrawal From Mediterranean

PM0312165391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 91 First Edition p 3

[Captain Second Class V. Pasyakin report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Soviet Ships and Vessels To Leave the Mediterranean"]

[Text] Sevastopol—The mass media had already reported that the Black Sea Fleet hydrographic ships Stvor and Berezan were returning from the Mediterranean earlier than planned because of a shortage of hard currency. Now it seems that ships will not be leaving Black Sea waters at all. Not because of a dearth of hard currency but for another, more serious reason—the absence of fuels and lubricants, because centralized deliveries have stopped.

The Black Sea Fleet staff has received an order from the Navy Main Staff that all surface craft and support vessels are to return immediately from the Mediterranean. All the main forces will be withdrawn from the Mediterranean before the end of December. The Black Sea Fleet staff has already prepared a plan to cut back its forces.

The only ships to leave the straits zone in the near future will be the TAKR [aircraft carrier] "Admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union Kuznetsov" and the escort ship Pytlivyy, which will be accompanying it to the Strait of Gibraltar. The Kuznetsov will be making the 20-day voyage to its permanent station with the Northern Fleet.

Baltic Troop Withdrawal To Begin in 1994

OW0112025091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1715 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Defense Ministry's spokesman Valery Manilov has announced a decision due to the political reality concerning the transformation of the Baltic military region into the North-western forces. In his words, "the military has already completed all of the essential work to begin the resulting political negotiations on removing Soviet forces from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia."

Manilov confirmed that the Soviet troops stationed in the Baltics would only be removed once all Soviet forces in Poland and Germany had returned home. This means that troop removal from the Baltics would not begin before the end of 1994. All those transferred to the reserve or having resigned, regardless of place of residence, will be given a pension for life paid out of funds from the Soviet Defense Ministry payment will continue in the corresponding currency after the Baltics have introduced their own currencies.

Manilov Interviewed on Withdrawal

LD0312151891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0100 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Interview with Lieutenant General Valeriy Leonidovich Manilov, chief to the Ministry of Defense information directorate, by correspondent Tatyana Chemodanova; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Manilov] The main provision of this problem is that a fundamentally new status for the group based on the territory of independent sovereign states has been established by the president. Now it is the northwestern group of forces. It is a group that is stationed on the territory of a foreign state and its operation, its provision with vital necessities should legally conform with international law, with our legislation. The position on the status of servicemen, their provision, the displacement of troops, guaranteeing defense tasks, their operation, that is to say the daily activity of that group should be defined very clearly, on the basis of bilateral agreements, on the basis of talks.

[Chemodanova] How long will the northwestern group of troops operate?

[Manilov] That depends upon the character of the interstate agreement and, on a reciporcal basis, what time scale is determined. However, the reality is such that evidently it is unlikely that a large-scale withdrawal of troops from the territory of the independent Baltic states can be implemented before the end of 1994, and first of all namely because to withdraw troops from the territory of these states it is necessary to prepare a whole infrastructure, first of all, housing, social provision—that is tens of thousands of people that the state should take care of.

[Chemodanova] Many discharged and reserve servicemen remaining on the territory of the Baltics are interested in the question of how they will be guaranteed their pension.

[Manilov] Speaking of the servicemen who will be discharged, become reservists, or retire and who will have the right to receive a pension from the Ministry of Defense, all these people, to the last man, will receive a pension from the Ministry of Defense and that has no prescription. They will all be provided for by the Ministry of Defense.

Officers Fear 'Social Explosion'

PM0212150791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 91 p 1

[Interview in Riga with Colonel V. Kandalovskiy, chairman of the officers' assemblies of the Baltic Military District, by correspondent K. Markaryan; date not given: "Even If Tanks Are Supplied to One Another, No Houses Will Result"]

[Text] Riga—Representatives of 178 divisions, regiments, and battalions decided at the recent all-district officers' assembly in Riga not to obey certain orders from the command. "We military people have always regarded an order as the law," the assembly resolution states. "But an order for our withdrawal and disbandment without guaranteed social backup will be rated a crime. This leaves us with the moral right not to fulfill it."

[Kandalovskiy] The officers' assemblies should not be viewed as a movement in defense of purely material interests. With the present revolution, as with any other, chaos—political, economic chaos—commences, and those who come to power at a time of crisis are under a tremendous temptation to use totalitarian methods under the slogan of defending democracy. The French Revolution perished in that way, and democracy and freedom were consumed by it in 1917. In Russia too there was a recent attempt to resolve matters with strong-arm methods—it was stopped. But now people are trying to do this in respect of the Army: to disband the district without social protection for people, without providing them with housing, without observing human rights.

[Markaryan] Was it a coincidence that these words were heard at the assembly: "We intend to defend ourselves, and we have the means with which to do so"?

[Kandalovskiy] We have little faith today that anyone will trouble himself about us. We are disciplined and act within the framework of the law. But look: This year alone diverse property to the value of 14.599 billion rubles [R] has been sold in our district. And all of it at clearance prices! A K-760 motorcycle goes for R300, and a KamAZ truck tends to go for just a few thousand! Yet they resell our hardware for really big money. We have sent this R14.5 million to the Ministry of Defense but have not gotten a single kopek back. The money ends up with bribetakers and cooperative members.

[Markaryan] Have you decided to engage in selling off property yourselves?

[Kandalovskiy] We do not intend to get involved in commerce, but we want to know clearly where the money will go, what we will get out of this, and what the state will get. We have proposed our own social protection program. Its main points are the creation of a Union socioeconomic program, the commander's housing fund, and a district council fund to tackle social problems. The intention is this: The commander constructs housing, and the council provides a terminal allowance so that a person can leave not just with a roof over his head but also with a kopek in his pocket—because he must be helped to start normal production activity. We have no need of money from elsewhere for this, since the district's own real estate is worth R150 billion.

[Markaryan] Will your first step be to sell submachine guns to Baltic border guards?

[Kandalovskiy] As long as the Soviet Armed Forces are here and their status has not been defined, we are opposed to squandering weapons. Literally a few days ago the "Sajudis" City Council sent the Vilnius Division an ultimatum to withdraw by 31 December. Sajudis is trying to put the pressure on: If you do not leave, we will give you a hard time. But they do have problems with weapons at present. What if both sides end up with weapons? This could go so far that no one will any longer be able to stop anything....

But what we are more concerned about now is the emergence of an official structure at the Defense Ministry which is trying to engage in commerce. The so-called "Defender of the Homeland" fund has been set up in Moscow. Its chief task is formulated as being to help servicemen and Afghanistan veterans. It is headed by Chief of the General Staff Lobov. No secret is made of the fact that the fund will engage in entrepreneurial activity, i.e. sell weapons, and the proceeds will apparently go to defend the defender of the homeland. Answer me: Are we living in a civilized state or, please pardon me, do they take us for idiots? Name just one country where commercial enterprises have been created under an official state organ to engage in trade and are headed by the top men. What is this, if not the use of an official position?

We have already received the first coded telegram: Stop all sales, audit property, and send lists to Moscow. Instructions have already arrived from all the Defense Ministry directorates with regard to what is to be sent to them, when, and by which trains. But there are no troop withdrawal programs. And so we ask: Where will the proceeds go? Which army do they intend to supply at our expense—Ukrainian, Azerbaijani? Who will dispose of this money?

[Markaryan] You accuse Moscow of commercialization, but what about yourselves?

[Kandalovskiy] But it is not a question of commerce! The problem is that it is not the commander who manages the district's property today but various Moscow directorates—communications, trade, engineering troops, technical means, propaganda. We are asking that people apply to the commander when making any deals, not to their own structural subdivisions. We can conclude a treaty with any firm or concern, make it a monopolist (thus cutting out bribetakers), for control purposes put our own representatives from the council of officers' assemblies into this concern...

[Markaryan] A version of independence within the district?

[Kandalovskiy] No, all the property belongs to the Ministry of Defense. But each item of property must have one master, not a multitude of directorates.

[Markaryan] Are you not afraid of being labeled rebels?

[Kandalovskiy] No, as long as we act within the framework of the law...

[Markaryan] As long as?

[Kandalovskiy] If we fully exhaust all democratic methods and if we are not heeded, we will be forced to adopt a tough democratic decision. Our attitude to orders has changed since the August events. When the defense minister ended up in the "Sailors' Rest," we realized that there are orders and orders.

[Markaryan] What is the reaction of the district commander to all this?

[Kandalovskiy] There are no problems with the commander at present. He realizes that, unless we preserve order, discipline, and troop control, all this could collapse under a hail of problems. The commander has done a great deal. Thanks to him we already have sites for the construction of 11,000 apartments near Vitebsk, Pskov, and St. Petersburg. So there is a lack of mutual understanding now only with the Defense Ministry.

[Markaryan] How are relations with the local authorities taking shape?

[Kandalovskiy] We have not yet contacted the leadership of the Baltic states, but statements by some of them put us on our guard. Thus, Landsbergis declared recently: "Just as you were able to enter in the space of two days in 1940, so you are able to leave." As a military man, I say that if it seems to one of the leaders of such a rank that the district can withdraw in the space of two days, then he has absolutely no idea of what the district and the Army are like. If we are now set the task of withdrawing even in six months, this will mean that the republics will be committing hara-kiri for the sake of their own freedom. Because we will paralyze all the transport arteries to withdraw hundreds of thousands of tonnes of freight, shells, containers, and hardware. To prevent the republic's economy from being stifled, we need at least two years.

As for a possible blockade of the Army, the Baltic does not have a force capable of imposing it today. Why, anyhow? Who is against the republics now? The Latvian Supreme Council adopted the resolution "On the Takeover of Military Property." Did we respond by taking part in demonstrations or mounting pickets? No, although we are opposed to such a decision. But these are problems for the Latvian Parliament, while we turned to our own president and to Yakovlev.

[Markaryan] You can hardly surprise the Soviet person with anything any more, because unpredictable situations arise one after another. Could it not happen, in your view, that they will decide to sacrifice the Army tomorrow?

[Kandalovskiy] This is what we are most afraid of. Judging by the way our leadership is acting, we really are on the verge.... Our officers have noticed that the Defense Ministry Press Bureau issued information to the press that there is no plan for a troop withdrawal from the Baltic region at the Ministry of Defense. There really is not a withdrawal plan, there is a disbandment plan. This is more terrible. People will soon be thrown into the street. We have already received an instruction: In 1992 the divisions in Vilnius and Tallinn must cease to exist, as must the Dobele Training Center.... There could be a social explosion if this problem is not resolved by normal means. The situation is already inflamed: At a recent officers' assembly they spent four hours out of six trying to persuade people that ultimatums and a show of force will lead to no good. But many no longer have anything to lose: No one here wants either passports or residence permits (no one is holding on to the Baltic region, and thousands are ready to leave even today, particularly when you hear yourself being called an "occupier" from all sides), and yet no one is waiting for us in Russia either.

[Markaryan] What is your attitude to predictions of a new attempt to seize power?

[Kandalovskiy] It is perfectly possible. The present disorder must be ended some time. But, believe me, it will not be the military that carries out a coup, if there is to be one. There are other forces that could seize power. The fact that these forces will endeavor to use the military is another matter.

If we do not resolve the problems in the district now, for example, a horde of people without apartments will pour into Russia. They are recruits who do not need to be canvassed. How are we to safeguard ourselves? Defend the rights of the specific person. There is no other way.

Baltic Troops Contact RSFSR City Officials

OW0312010391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The "Refak" news agency reports some chiefs of Soviet troops stationed in the Baltics have begun independently establishing contacts with municipal authorities of various Russian cities. They are negotiating contracts on construction of houses for military servicement to be withdrawal from the Baltics. "Refak"'s correspondent says these actions show that the military do not doubt the withdrawal of troops and have lost hope that the center would take care of them.

Estonia

Foreign Minister Supports UN Troop Presence

LD0412095891 Hamburg DPA in German
0739 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Cologne (DPA)—Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri has come out in favor of the deployment of UN troops in his country. The Soviet Union has so far refused to reduce its troops stationed in Estonia in accordance with the treaty, the Estonian politician said on Deutschlandfunk radio today.

He was disturbed that "Soviet paratroopers are still stationed only 45 minutes from the parliament in Tallinn," he said. The deployment of UN troops in the Baltics could therefore help to prevent possible violent conflicts in northeastern Europe. UN troops, Meri went on to say, should in the future not be used "as a last resort." In view of the threatening dangers in the Soviet Union, they could dampen crises. Such a UN deployment would, in Meri's view, also support democratic forces in the other former Soviet republics.

Meri is currently in Bonn at the invitation of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

National Currency To Be Introduced in Mid-1992

OW0412035391 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1645 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Economy Minister Jaak Leimann told the parliament December 3rd that [the] Estonian budget for the first half of 1992 would be the last to use rubles since the introduction of national currency - Krones - is planned for mid-1992. He believes the situation in the republic this year seems to be better than it was earlier predicted There is almost no unemployment, industrial production declined only by 5-9% against the planned 20%. Next year Estonia intends to conclude direct trade agreements based on world prices with former Union republics. The minister noted that Estonia had already signed an economic accord with Russia.

He also assured the deputies that talks on giving loans to Estonia are going on. Experts estimate that Estonia needs about $250,000,000 to promote its fuel-energy complex in the first place. Industry and agriculture also badly need investment Hovever, the minister pointed out, "getting aid from the West will take more time than it was planned."

He predicted that in 1992 there would be some 100,000 unemployed in Estonia

Draft Education Law Discussed in Parliament

OW0412022491 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1930 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 3rd the Estonian parliament discussed in the first reading a draft law on education. The draft law recognizes the right of all people permanently living in Estonia to get education in his/her mother tongue. It also envisages teaching of the Estonian language in all schools. Teaching at high schools will be in Estonian, but Russian is also admitted for some groups.

The draft law points out that studying theology at schools should be voluntary.

Document Checks Along Borders Implemented

OW0312143591 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1115 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In implementation of the Estonian Supreme Council's decision, on December 1 the control posts all along the Estonian border began checking documents.

Earlier, documents had been checked only on the eastern border, in the ports and in the Tallinn airport.

All of the control posts have lists of individuals wanted by the USSR Interior Ministry and by Interpol.

Beginning January 15, Estonia's eastern control posts will switch over to the system of separate visas attached to passports, required for crossing the Estonian border.

Non-Estonian Population Seeks Citizenship

OW0312141091 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1115 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Pavel Grigoryev, a member of the Estonian parliament's faction, Civil Accord, told BF [BALTFAX] that on December 3 he was going to Moscow to hand the messages of the Civil Accord, and Equal Rights and Cooperation factions to the Russian parliament.

"We shall be using parliamentary methods in our struggle for attaining Estonian citizenship," he said. In his opinion, this is possible only on the condition that the Estonian republic's 1938 Law on Citizenship be adopted "without making it any tougher and with all of the envisaged privileges preserved".

"If this doesn't happen we'll become citizens of Russia," said Mr. Grigoryev.

He also stressed that the deputies representing Estonia's non-indigenous population in the republic's Supreme Council campaigned for an early ratification of the Estonian-Russian treaty signed on January 12, 1991, by

Arnold Ruutel, head of the Estonian parliament, and by Boris Yeltsin, then Chairman of the Russian parliament.

One of the articles in the treaty to be ratified by the Russian parliament says that either side will defend the interests of its citizens living in the territory of the other state.

Russian 'Political Prisoners' Being Held

OW0312010191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Deputy Prosecutor Juri Kasesalu has told BF [BALTFAX] that currently five Russian-born people considered by "some circles in Russia as political prisoners" are being held in Estonia under arrest.

Former leader of the Estonian striking committee Mikhail Lysenko was detained on charges of plotting the coup d'etat on May 15th, 1990. On that day supporters of the Intermovement made an attempt to capture the republican government building.

Former chairman of Labor Collectives' United Council Igor Shepelvich is accused of high treason for supporting the August coup.

The other three men are charged with attempting to liquidate Estonian customs and border posts.

On Saturday [30 November] Yuri Dovin, chairman of the St. Petersburg Mayor's Office's committee on glasnost, revealed that "he is deeply concerned about the fate of Russians living in Estonia."

"I have information that several Russian citizens are being held in Tallinn prisons," he noted.

Commenting on this statement Jyri Kasesalu said that "there is a lot of Russian serving terms in Estonian prisons for various crimes." "More than a half of all prisoners in Estonia have Russian surnames", he added.

Latvia

Democratic Labor Party Holds Congress

LD0312104391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Today at a news conference devoted to the results of the third congress of the Latvian Democratic Labor Party, the newly elected party Chairman, Juris Bojars, announced that the Latvian Democratic Labor Party rejects the resolution recently adopted by the Latvian Supreme Council on the assigning of dual citizenship to Latvian emigrants. Juris Bojars believes that such a resolution by the Supreme Council (?will result in) claims for dual citizenship from Jews, Poles and Germans who emigrated from Latvia as well. (?He anticipates) problems with the question of restoration of property to its owners. Juris Bojars said that the Latvian Democratic Labor Party will strive to cooperate with other reformed Baltic Communist Parties, and the Labor and Social Democratic parties of Europe.

In Latvia, the Latvian Democratic labor Party's allies are to be the trade unions, the workers' community, which will also try to unite with the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party and the Latvian Farmers' Association. The Latvian Democratic Labor Party is also going to have allies whom Juris Bojars so far declines to disclose. The Congress has also expressed dissatisfaction with the intended land reform, which is devoting too much attention to the interests of former landowners. In turn, regarding the coming land reform in towns, the Congress of the Latvian Democratic Labor Party expressed its readiness to hold a poll of the people by non-party forces to assess the usefulness of this reform. The party believes this reform will create big (?differences) between former landowners and present users of land. The third Congress of the Latvian Democratic labor Party decided to abdicate the status of founder of the newspaper NEATKARIGA CINA.

Labor Party Criticizes Double Citizenship Law

OW0412033291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1645 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Yuris Bojars, chairman of the Latvian Democratic Party of Labor [LDPL], told a news conference in Riga December 2nd that the LDPL disapproves of the last week's decision by the Latvian Supreme Council to grant double citizenship to Latvian emigrants.

The LDPL has emerged from the former Latvian Communist Party

Mr. Bojars said such a decision would give the right for double citizenship to Poles, Jews and Germans who have emigrated from Latvia. That may cause serious problems related to the return of property to former owners.

Mr. Bojars said the recent third congress of the LDPL had sharply criticized the ongoing land reform in the republic. The LDPL believes that the reform pays too much attention to the interests of former owners and that way trigger tension in relations between former and present owners, Mr. Bojars noted.

Sharp Rise in Prices Being Experienced

LD0312045891 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2130 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Starting with today Latvia experienced a sharp rise in prices. For example, prices for petrol have been rised more than five times. The same refers also to the whole communications network in the republic. General cost of living has increased at least three times in comparison with the last year.

Lithuania

Concern Expressed Over Gorbachev Reference

LD0412114191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] This morning's report from the parliament will begin with a statement made by Vytautas Landsbergis. The statement was brought to our studio just a couple of minutes ago. The statement reads: Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking on television yesterday, touched briefly upon the situation in the neighboring Baltic countries. It was implied in a questioning way that the [word indistinct] situation of the citizens of other countries has worsened. Whoever is really concerned about this should come to Lithuania and become familiar with the living conditions and compare them with those in the Soviet Union.

Protest letters were sent to Moscow two years ago when the Soviet acts of coercion against the aspirations of the Baltic people to restore their independence were being prepared. A letter from the Lithuanian Communist Party putchists was also written to the former Moscow regime [word indistinct] in which they begged to impose a military-presidential dictatorship.

Therefore, the present reference by President Gorbachev to similar letters and his country's concern about defending somebody, keeping in mind the underground armed activity of the KGB in Lithuania, should cause real international concern about the security of the Baltic states.

Landsbergis Congratulates Kravchuk, Nazarbayev

OW0312174191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1527 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, has sent a congratulatory telegram to the Ukrainian president, Leonid Kravchuk.

He expressed satisfaction with the results of the referendum on independence and wrote that the establishment of diplomatic relations between Lithuania and the Ukraine, "as a basis for comprehensive cooperation, would be put through the required procedure in the near future".

Mr. Landsbergis invited Leonid Kravchuk to visit the Lithuanian republic "at any suitable time."

Vytautas Landsbergis also sent his congratulations to Nursultan Nazarbayev on the occasion of his victory in the presidential elections.

Journalists Briefed on Talks With RSFSR

LD0312145191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Today Vladimir Yermolenko, deputy of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, met journalists at a briefing in the Supreme Council:

[Begin Yermolenko recording] A working group, one can say a delegation, headed by Mr. Granberg who is an aide to President Yeltsin and head of the RSFSR Committee on Interrepublican Relations, Regional Policy, and Cooperation, are currently visiting Vilnius, Lithuania.

In addition to him, Deputies Kirpichnikov, Mazayev, and Lisov, along with Mr. Sedykh, editor in chief of RIA (RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY), and NOVOSTI, were also present.

We were present at the meeting with Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, and Mr. Stankevicius, deputy chairman. Nikolay Medvedev, I personally, and aides to President Landsbergis were also present.

The discussion was about the working visit. The Russian delegation had already visited Estonia.

During this short visit a number of both political and economic problems concerned with the treaty between Russia and Lithuania were discussed including the well, we may say, that the process of ratification of the treaties with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia is on the agenda of the Russian Supreme Soviet. We did not discuss specifically either the procedure or the date of their possible ratification. However, the mechanism of the process of ratification was discussed: whether it would be a package or it would not be a single package. We understood that in the beginning this will be done separately, each treaty with a specific republic, in order not to transfer the problems of one country into the treaty of another.

Although to Russia all the Baltic countries as a whole represent, so to speak, an enormous window into Europe, at the same time each of these have its own specific features. The gentlemen in the delegation as well as most members of parliament in the Russian parliament are well aware of this.

This briefly is the essence of the meeting. We also spoke about some problems related to the implementaion of economic and sociocultural aspects of the treaty. Unfortunately, it was pointed out that the process had been rather delayed, if you remember the work on the treaty was started in January, 1991. Lithuania ratified it on 29 July, I am sorry we signed it on 29 July. So a period of half a year was spent working on the treaty, it was concluded, and then on 19 August Lithuania ratified the treaty. We [word indistinct] Russia to ratify this treaty. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Ukraine Viewed as Possible Cause of Instability

LD0312233691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] The Lithuanian national defense minister, Audrius Butkevicius, has pointed out that on the Ukraine's proclaiming independence, instability on the territory of the former Soviet Union is building up ever more since there may be territorial problems between the Ukraine and neighboring states.

Audrius Butkevicius said at this morning's briefing in parliament that instability in the Ukraine and around it complicated Lithuania's integration into the West European security system since under such circumstances the West is avoiding any major commitments with regard to the Baltic security.

Vagnorius on Economic Relations With Japan

PM0412114191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent N. Lashkevich: "It Is Easier To Reach Agreement With Japan Than With the USSR"]

[Text] Vilnius—"We do not need humanitarian aid from the West in the form of deliveries of food or medicine, but aid which affects the development of our economy," Lithuanian Republic Prime Minister G. Vagnorius stated on 28 November at a news conference.

The head of the Lithuanian Government summed up the results of his visit to Tokyo where, incidentally, he was the only Baltic state leader to take part in the work of a session of the "Big Seven" council. In his opinion foreign aid should come both via an individual program of aid to the Baltic countries and within the framework of aid to the USSR.

In the immediate future Lithuania and Japan will prepare interstate draft agreements on guarantees of investments and exports. In December a group of seven of the republic's representatives will travel to Japan to familiarize themselves with investment policy and to prepare the drafts. And a large delegation of Japanese businessmen will visit Lithuania. G. Vagnorius said that the plans for bilateral relations are extensive: For instance, it is planned to send about 5,000 workers to Japan and to create in Lithuania a number of enterprises, mainly assembly plants, in the sphere of the fish and electronics industries. For its party Lithuania guarantees the Japanese legal protection for their investments and will give them big benefits for introducing Japanese capital into the republic's economy.

Answering a question from your IZVESTIYA correspondent about whether specific economic agreements will be concluded for next year with Russia or the USSR and what is preventing mutual accords, the prime minister stressed that everything depends on the good will of the Eastern neighbor. Lithuania has already prepared a number of draft agreements, but certain forces in the Soviet leadership are trying to move strictly economic problems into a political channel. G. Vagnorius said that today it is difficult to determine with whom specifically one should do business. In this situation it is expedient to preserve the operation of mutual economic accords if only for the next quarter of next year.

Groups Criticize Inadequate Equipping of Army

OW0412021891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On December 3, the Freedom League of Lithuania (FLL) and representatives of some other radical forces gathered for a meeting in front of the Lithuanian parliament to support the "patriotic-minded deputies."

FLL leader, Mr. Antanas Terleckas, said that "a coup suiting communists was being contemplated in the republic". "Without Landsbergis Lithuania will cease to exist," he said.

Addressing the meeting, Head of the Soviet parliament, Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis, urged all to get united.

Other speakers also demanded that the Lithuanian Army be adequately equipped as soon as possible.

The demonstrators criticized National Security Minister Audrius Butkevicius for "deliberately slow equipment of the ministry's armed formations."

Mr. Butkevicius, who spoke to the meeting, said that the equipment of the Army was his top-priority task. However, Lithuania has not yet found a supplier of weapons, he said. The Soviet Union is in no hurry to start negotiations on passing armaments to the Lithuanian authorities, while the West does not dare to do so, he said. Mr. Butkevicius said that the West was afraid of committing itself to arms supplies, because this may involve them in conflicts should they flare up.

Speaking at a briefing in Vilnius on December 3, Mr. Butkevicius announced that the participants in the conference on the Baltic nations' security held in Norway, spoke in favour of Lithuania's, Latvia's and Estonia's early integration with the Western European security system. He said that they meant three ways of integration: active participation in the Helsinki process and in the European community, and also diplomatic relations with NATO.

Mr. Butkevicius said that in Norway, with Norwegian Defence Minister, Mr. Johan Jorgen Holst, he discussed Norway's possible consultative assistance in the formation of Lithuania's defence system. Mr. Butkevicius confirmed that among the questions discussed in Norway was arms supplies to Lithuania. He also expressed the opinion that Lithuania should obtain armaments from two sources - the USSR and the West which might supply it with special equipment.

Search Announced for Jan Putsch Suspects

PM0312162191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Correspondent N. Lashkevich: "Search for Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Leaders Announced"]

[Text] Vilnius—The investigation into the events of 11-13 January in Vilnius is entering the final stage. The republic Supreme Council Presidium has instructed the state commission for investigating the USSR Armed Forces' crimes in Lithuania to prepare and submit to parliament before 20 December a detailed official decision and conclusions on the January events.

Last week investigators of the Lithuanian Republic General Prosecutor's Office criminal investigation department arrested Valeriy Ivanov, leader of the "Yedinstvo" movement. He is charged with criminal activity at the time of the attempted coup d'etat in Lithuania in January and, in particular, as a result of information in the law-enforcement organs' possession he is charged with leading the group of people which attempted to storm the Lithuanian Parliament 8 January. He is now in Lukiskes Jail in Vilnius, and a preliminary official charge will soon be laid against him.

A search has also been announced for other persons suspected of organizing the January putsch. They include M. Burokievicius, former first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; A. Naudjunas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; J. Jermalavicius, head of the Central Committee Ideological Department; B. Makutynovich, commander of the Vilnius OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment]; Ch. Vysotskiy, first secretary of Shalchininkskiy Rayon Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, and others. Arrest is a measure to secure the appearance of them all. The republic Ministry of Internal Affairs Criminal Police Main Administration has suggested that they report voluntarily to the Lithuanian General Prosecutor's Office. Meanwhile, their mugshots and biographical data have already been published in the evening newspaper VAKARINES NAUENOS. It is assumed that many of them are in hiding in Moscow Oblast, while two from Shalchininkskiy Rayon—Poles by nationality—could be in Poland.

To all appearances, however, these people may not be arrested, as Lithuania has not yet concluded corresponding interstate agreements with the former USSR republics on legal mutual assistance. Therefore the Lithuanian law-enforcement organs have petitioned the Supreme Council to reach the necessary accords with the Russian authorities on the extradition of state criminals whose arrest has already been sanctioned by the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office. J. Gaudutis, chief prosecutor of the criminal investigation department, previously emphasized in conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent that all the charges against the persons liable to detention and arrest are, above all, not of a political but of a criminal nature. The leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee are charged under Article 68 of the Lithuanian Republic Criminal Code, i.e. with organizing a coup d'etat and attempting to overthrow the lawful government by force, while the OMON leaders are charged with banditry.

Staff of Three Newspapers Begin Strike

OW0312173991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1527 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The newspapers TIESA, RESPUBLIKA and VALSTECIU LAIKRASTIS did not come out on December 3.

On November 30, these newspapers, as well as the newspapers LIETUVOS RITAS and EVENING NEWS, carried only an appeal to the Lithuanian government and parliament demanding a more favourable distribution of subsidies, various privileges and "a worthy dialogue" with the "independent press." The staff of these newspapers threatened to go on strike if their demands were not met.

The LIETUVOS RITAS published one article entitled "The LIETUVOS RITAS Nationalized". It said that on December 2, at a meeting between the staff of the five newspapers and Secretary of the Lithuanian government, Mr. Kestutis Cilinskas, journalists were told that in accordance with the law on the redistribution of the Lithuanian Communist Party's property, the LIETUVOS RITAS had been nationalized. The article carried a statement saying that none of the reporters would work in a state-run newspaper.

The EVENING NEWS did come out on December 2. Its editorial suggests that the staff protested against the new tax amounting to 25 per cent of the takings from each copy. The newspaper reserves for itself the right to continue its protest, the editorial said.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Preparing for 'Serious Criticism'

PM2911220591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin by A. Lugovskaya on 25 November; place not given; "Boris Yeltsin: Rapid Reforms Are Russia's Only Chance"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Our conversation took place on the morning of 25 November. His visit to Germany had finished 24 hours earlier and an hour later he was going to Novo-Ogarevo for the initialing of the treaty on the political union of the Union of Sovereign States, although he openly doubted the success of that venture. Not a day passes without a surprise, not a situation that is not a crisis, and it all demands immediate actions from the president of Russia which has announced large-scale reforms to itself and the world.

[Lugovskaya] You have already said, Boris Nikolayevich, that the results of the visit to Germany surpassed your expectations. In what way specifically?

[Yeltsin] Germany is the first country to receive the president of Russia as head of an independent state with all the measures demanded by protocol, and this was something of a surprise to me. Chancellor Kohl and President Weizsaecker devoted the maximum time to talks and we managed to discuss a lot. We agreed that we would sign an all-embracing treaty on mutual relations between Germany and Russia. I think that it will also formulate more clearly our positions on the future of the Soviet Germans. I was not expecting such a treaty. If the signing takes place in the first quarter of 1992 that will be very good, and there was another surprise for me—I am still answering your question—the Germans' concrete approach to humanitarian aid. I was told that special organs are being created in the next few days which will be responsible for the delivery of foodstuffs to Russian territory. They even cited figures—how much particular Lands would give. Colonel General Grachev, USSR deputy defense minister, who was in the delegation, immediately promised to provide long-haul transport planes so that shipments could be made without going via Moscow but instead directly to major industrial centers where the most dangerous centers of social tension will also probably be. A special committee with local departments has already been created in Russia—I call it the "committee of honest people." Its task is to analyze the situation and monitor it to ensure that food reaches the people for whom it is intended, particularly the underprivileged.

[Lugovskaya] Journalists have noted sympathetically that in Germany you had to deal with questions which were not strictly a president's job—for example, placing orders for agricultural equipment with private companies. This reminds me of Peter the Great's visit to Europe to learn about shipbuilding.

[Yeltsin] Well, I would not compare myself to Peter the Great, of course, but in principle you are probably right. Small-scale mechanization for the private farmer is one of our major problems. I paid a special visit to the mighty Daimler-Benz company, which employs 380,000 people, and I discussed with its management 20 programs for Russia. One can do business with a firm which has such capital and the ability to freely transfer it and use it.

We selected a Unimok—a universal, multipurpose vehicle—it transports, it constructs, it harvests grain, etc. The Germans are ready to develop a similar vehicle together with us and build it at production units in our country. We have such units in our country right now. At defense enterprises in St. Petersburg and Nizhniy Tagil, vast shops, kilometers long, are being vacated.

[Lugovskaya] When will the Russian peasant see this vehicle in the fields?

[Yeltsin] In 1992.

[Lugovskaya] How did the German business world receive your program of reforms?

[Yeltsin] I did not meet a single person there who said: No, this is not the right path. No one said that. Everyone considers rapid reforms the only chance of salvation. We did not ask for credits because we do not want to bequeath our grandchildren debts, but we did agree on the creation in Russia of the kind of conditions for private and state capital which will be beneficial to investors and businessmen alike. The appearance of the Decree on the Liberalization of Foreign Economic Activity on RSFSR Territory also provides legal guarantees. They were waiting for this law. Every civilized state has one, but over there people said to me bluntly: Your salvation lies not in Western credits but in skilled cadres—businessmen, managers, bank staff—who know how to do a professional job in a market area. We agreed that several hundred Russians will receive training in Germany.

[Lugovskaya] Were there also problems during the visit?

[Yeltsin] Certainly: the Honecker situation.

[Lugovskaya] You have just returned to Russia and again you are immersed in its problems. In your view, what could hinder the reforms?

[Yeltsin] Many things. I am well aware of what we are undertaking. I am greatly worried by the uncontrolled entry [interventsiya] of money into Russia: Tens of billions of rubles are accumulating here. At the State Council session I will again have to raise the question of transferring the USSR State Bank to Russia because in the situation that is developing we really need protection. The bank could be a definite guarantor for us. We expect the appearance of national currencies even though the republics do not confirm that.

[Lugovskaya] Must Russia wait, or is it also preparing to switch to its own national ruble?

[Yeltsin] Only in response to such a switch by the large republics. Suppose the Ukraine were to do that, for example; this would undoubtedly be a major blow to the Russian financial system. At today's State Council meeting I will have to say: Until the Ukraine signs the political treaty Russia will not sign it either. We will regard this as demonstrating a desire to pull out of the Union. In that event it will be free to do as it likes: introduce its own currency, have its own army. The situation will also change drastically for Russia. That is, we, as a response measure, will also have to introduce a currency and do something about the army so that we really are not caught unaware. In this regard I am constantly repeating: I hope that the Ukraine will sign the treaty, I really hope so. On the whole, we have good relations. We have signed a bilateral treaty, an agreement for 1992, providing for reciprocal payments and at world prices, but if it leaves the Union, that could be a serious blow to the Union and to Russia.

[Lugovskaya] Many people are already familiar with the first package of decrees which initiated the reform. I would like to ask: How will they be implemented?

[Yeltsin] For each law, decree, or government resolution a separate mechanism has been provided, and it is not a standardized one [tipovoy]. We have firmly stipulated that before signing any decision, we must have a precise mechanism for its operation in our hands.

[Lugovskaya] Boris Nikolayevich, you are surely well aware of the criticism that the new government is repeating the old mistakes. I have in mind the prior announcement of the liberalization of prices. President Gorbachev also spoke out quite harshly on that, stressing that the ill-considered step damaged the economy even more. Why did that happen?

[Yeltsin] As for President Gorbachev, he explained to me that this phrase was taken out of the context of his speech at a press conference and distorted his meaning. We studied the verbatim report together and I was convinced that there was no criticism of our program. None at all. On the phone yesterday he stressed once more that he fully supports Russia's policy and considers the reform the right step. I shall quote the example of Germany again, or rather, eastern Germany: It, too, used to be communist and, just like us now, has gone through all these processes—privatization, free market prices. Their opinion is clear—prices must be relaxed at the same time.

[Lugovskaya] How will people get by in the first few days of shock?

[Yeltsin] It will be difficult.

[Lugovskaya] Has someone calculated the extent of the burden?

[Yeltsin] Of course. In this regard we have adopted some preemptive Russian presidential decrees and resolutions on social protection for the underprivileged, we have raised the level of the minimum wage, pensions, and grants, and that level will rise in line with prices. Pay in budget-funded organizations will be nearly doubled on 1 December, and in the production sphere we are going to abolish restrictions completely: Wages will be self-financed there. Recently I met with a large group of enterprise directors and they asked me to abolish the wretched "Pavlov's wage leveling." That I have done. Thus, the market price will now apply not only to their output—the market will also determine wages. In addition, we have decided to retain fixed prices for a number of products and materials—increased but fixed—milk, bread, baby food, salt, vodka, matches.

[Lugovskaya] Why did you choose the most unpropitious month—November—to start the reforms?

[Yeltsin] We have already lost a lot of time. Previously we were occupied with the struggle against the center and we thought that we would win space for the reforms little by little, but after the putsch everything changed. Gorbachev himself changed greatly. He realized that without rapid reforms matters would not progress and that reforms were essential. Otherwise there would be a collapse, not only in Russia but in the Union and in other republics, too. That is why after the putsch we took a break to prepare the program in the new conditions and with new operating tactics. We prepared for this step very thoroughly.

[Lugovskaya] What did you think at that time, Boris Nikolayevich, when you were alone?

[Yeltsin] Only this: Would the people tolerate the reform?

[Lugovskaya] The people counted on you when they elected you president of Russia; has your turn now come to count on your people?

[Yeltsin] Yes, that is precisely how it is. I am now mentally preparing myself for serious criticism aimed at me because it will be necessary to adopt unpopular measures, and naturally people will take them badly.

[Lugovskaya] Tell me, are there strong people in the Yeltsin government now? I am asking that question for a reason: Recently on television I saw Yegor Gaydar's speech and reaction to the Russian parliament's decision to "remove" the State Bank from the care of the executive power. I regarded his suggestion of resignation as an example of confusion. On whom should you be relying?

[Yeltsin] I was not here at that time but I think that he was talking about the practice of civilized states in which a parliament, expressing disagreement with the government's decision, thereby "hints" at its resignation, but in a period of reforms, as world experience shows, the government changes two or three times in two years. I have confidence in my government. It is a united team with intelligent and quite young people: The age range is from 35 to 45. Burbulis, Gaydar, Shokhin, and Titkin—they are very robust, powerful men. The main thing is that they prepared the program as a united team and are now keen to carry it out. There will be no dissension, as in the previous government of Silayev.

[Lugovskaya] But will there be flexibility?

[Yeltsin] That will depend more on me because they still have no managerial experience at a Russian level. Now I have decided on such a desperate step, to put it bluntly, by putting my personal prestige and career on the line. I hope that all together we will overcome the crisis. I have confidence in that. Yes, indeed, for about six months things will be worse than they are now, but then the market economy will begin to yield its first results. World experience attests to that, and how are we Russians inferior to the rest?

[Lugovskaya] Boris Nikolayevich, one can no longer fail to notice the Russian parliament's opposition to the president.

[Yeltsin] Possibly it will seem that way on a number of other occasions, too. It is simply that there are many things that people are not used to. These are normal relations between a president and a parliament, and if it seems to one side that something has been done wrong, they should not attack one another head-on. It is necessary to get together and think, decide, negotiate, and find a solution acceptable to both sections of power—the executive and the legislative. I believe that this is how it will be. It is just that we are too new to this from the viewpoint of both parliamentary procedures and democracy. That is why not everything is working out.

[Lugovskaya] Will we finally get private property and free enterprise here? They have been enshrined in law. It is surely not accidental, is it, that there are no people like K. Borovoy in the government?

[Yeltsin] As for Borovoy and energetic people like him, they are where they belong; let them work there. Commodity exchanges for us are now becoming the kind of structure which should set the whole market in motion, but private property is already in the offing. The first impetus to the reform was given by the 14 decrees and resolutions, and the second package of approximately 10 decisions will be signed in the very near future. One of the most important is the decree on the commercialization of enterprises in trade, public catering, the services sphere, and some areas of transport, for example, taxis and so forth. In other words, the decree enables these enterprises to be privatized quite easily.

[Lugovskaya] Not like in Moscow then? Muscovites are already in a daze at the vast number of projects, which does nothing to boost the prestige of Mayor Popov, even though we elected him, nor of the city hall as a structure of the presidential vertical hierarchy.

[Yeltsin] That is all correct; there is a question to answer here. To be frank, Gavriil Kharitonovich has already asked me for a transfer to other work. I am afraid that it is physically taxing for him, although he is undoubtedly an intelligent and interesting man and we get along well. I persuaded him not to do anything until spring and Yu. Luzhkov supported me on that. After the winter, if everything works out well...

[Lugovskaya] ...then Moscow will face new elections?

[Yeltsin] No. When the mayor transfers to other work, the deputy mayor will take over, by law.

[Lugovskaya] Everyone is worried about the land reform, which is "in abeyance." Why are we not preparing for the spring? Why has the question of private ownership of the land lapsed?

[Yeltsin] We are preparing, and we are ready. First, we are ready organizationally because this package contains a decree under which the lands of loss-making kolkhozes and sovkhozes are to be given to peasants as private property—it will be published soon. The decree envisages the most varied forms of economic management. For example, a family which does not need outside help will be able to work the land independently. Those who cannot stand on their two feet immediately are free to pool their efforts and work the land using the equipment available at the kolkhoz or the sovkhoz, but the land and the crop remain their property. They dispose of their output as they see fit and sell it how they like—in the market, through a commodity exchange, an intermediary, or individual agents. That is their affair.

[Lugovskaya] What will happen to those who have neither land nor a trade center?

[Yeltsin] At the same time there will be privatization of small enterprises in the production sphere. Yes, times are hard; it is difficult for everyone, but people must not be thinking merely of passively watching what is going on around them. It is necessary to take part in the reforms! Take popular crafts—how many of them have been lost? I think that even a small family of two pensioners has the ability to rebuild something like that. Make a product and sell it. Activate and develop the entrepreneurial spirit in themselves. We are not alone in this—many states have had to overcome a crisis. Today they are flourishing.

[Lugovskaya] Undoubtedly private initiative can breathe life into our flagging state, but its development needs stability and a consolidating idea. In Russia, however, the impetus toward isolation is becoming increasingly strong. Why is this? Is it to do with the existence of unequal sections of the federation? Or the absence of a new Constitution?

[Yeltsin] You are right, the question of the national-state organization is so complex and delicate. Furthermore, it still has not been resolved. We became used to the fact that the republics in Russia lived one sort of life, the oblasts another. Yet in some regions, like the Urals, there are several oblasts. Mainly these are Russian territories. Is it really fair to deprive them of legislative power? At the same time we do not want to infringe the rights of the national republics. On the contrary, they need their sovereignty. It seems to me that the draft new Constitution contains a good phrase—organization on the lines of lands, as in Germany. Each one has its own legislative and executive organs and legislative functions. I visited three lands and I saw for myself that the separation of functions is very rigid. Chancellor Kohl does not interfere in their life and say: Do things like this and only like this. If he did, they would reply: Sorry, but this is our area of competence. I think that we will move toward that.

[Lugovskaya] For the reforms to proceed actively the initial impetus is surely not enough. Who is going to regulate them? As a Muscovite, I have only a very vague idea of the presidential vertical hierarchy. The president—the government—city hall. What comes next?

[Yeltsin] In every oblast now there is a presdientially-appointed head of administration who has the power to appoint the heads of cities and rayons, right down to the most remote ones. They all form their own administrations.

[Lugovskaya] A government?

[Yeltsin] It is more an administration than a government. Their direct task is to promote the progress of the reforms, follow their course, and help the Russian Government and the president.

[Lugovskaya] The outside world is also showing attention in the Russian reforms. Will this propitious moment for using Russia's interstate ties with neighbors far and near be used? Your next visit is to Italy, is it not?

[Yeltsin] In principle I was not intending to go anywhere at such a difficult time for us, but in the first place, Russia is already a subject of international law and is beginning to conclude treaties independently. Second, we have every reason not to trust in those treaties concluded by corrupt functionaries of the former Union Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations behind Russia's back. That is why we are embarking on direct treaties and creating our own departments in embassies, so that in time we will have our own Russian embassies. As for Italy, this is my third attempt to go there at G. Andreotti's invitation. I hope that I will at last be able to go in December. It will be a brief visit, literally 24 hours, but en route I plan to pay brief visits to two other countries—Romania and Hungary—and conclude treaties with them. Our neighbors, particularly Hungary, want to help the Russians get over the difficult times.

[Lugovskaya] Is there also a specific purpose to the talks in Italy?

[Yeltsin] Quite right. A most interesting situation has developed there. It turns out that the Union once borrowed a large credit from Italy, almost $1 billion, which no one knew about, and given our most difficult situation it has still not been used. It is a nightmare. Thus one of our tasks is to agree on purchases and deliveries of food this winter, but that is not all. The purpose of the visit is also to sign a joint agreement or statement on cooperation; that is, to begin direct contacts with Italy.

[Lugovskaya] Boris Nikolayevich, I want to ask you why both you and members of the government have such limited contacts with the press.

[Yeltsin] You are right. After the recent appearance on TV Channel One, I assembled the government and said: The time has come for you to go out "into the world." The newspapers, the radio, television--any form of the media at all. The only thing that is not permitted, and I warned them strictly on this, is on no account to tell all of Russia about drafts as yet unsigned because then it will be difficult to explain to people why they have undergone changes or why no changes were made at all. The government's communications with the public and the press are coordinated by G. Burbulis, and that means that society is going to receive exhaustive information.

Rutskoy Criticizes Government Composition

PM0212141391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[TASS-RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY report under the "News" rubric: "Vice President in Doubt"]

[Text] Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy has sharply criticized the current composition of the RSFSR Government at a meeting in Novosibirsk with activists from the local branch of the "Free Russia" People's Party. Rutskoy said: "I am not satisfied with this government because it contains no practical workers." It is for this reason that the vice present considers implementation of the Russian president's decrees outlining economic reform to be "highly improbable."

Criticizes Yeltsin

LD0312215891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy expressed himself very emotionally during his trip to Altay. He pointedly criticized Yeltsin and called the new government urchins. As is known, they are really young men of 35-40, but I think that our tendency to have politicians who are incapable of moving around without the help of others is a thing of the past, and Aleksandr Vladimirovich himself is a man of comfortable age.

There is one more thing. In the West a vice president has the moral right to pointedly comment on the policy of his president only after he has handed in his resignation because they are roped together, but even here we have our own way.

In an interview for IZVESTIYA on his return, Rutskoy softened his position and stressed that he is ready to continue working on the team. We do not know the reaction of the team yet, but the reception of the vice president at the airport did not meet the requirements of protocol.

Comments on Servicemen Guarantees

LD0212221691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Aleksandr Rutskoy has spoken in favor of the unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from the countries of East Europe and the Baltic states but only when there are social guarantees for the servicemen. The vice president noted that around 400,000 officers are already homeless and if the members of their families are included, this comes to around a million with nowhere to live.

Defense Official Views USSR Armed Forces

LD0212142291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Interview with Sergey Vladimirovich Stepashin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet committee for defense and security, with correspondent Andrey Nikiforov on meeting of republican and USSR defense parliamentary committees in the Moscow Kremlin on 29 November—recorded]

[Text] [Stepashin] The conversation was fairly complicated because for the first time at the level of parliamentary committees, at the level of a frank, open debate and not somewhere in the corridors, is the question of the future of the Armed Forces being discussed.

As far as the first question is concerned—united and combined forces—yesterday the conversation was of a somewhat scholastic nature, for the leadership of the Ministry of Defense and USSR President Gorbachev believe that we must have united armed forces. You know that there was even the 14 November State Council decision where the necessity of united armed forces was recognized.

Well, in the afternoon after the representatives of the Ukraine, Russia, Moldova, Georgia, and a number of other republics had spoken, we understood perfectly well that it was impossible to speak of the armed forces in the form they existed in the Soviet Union, say, prior to 1985 and even prior to 1990, since, the Ukraine, on 1 December, having received its independence, unequivocally announced that it would have its own armed forces and there is no doubt about this. The same question was raised by Moldova, the question was also raised by...

[Nikiferov, interrupting] But 1 December has not yet come, Sergey Vladimirovich.

[Stepashin] Yes, they are already preparing for this. The results of the referendum are sufficiently clear. Moreover, the U.S. leadership—and yesterday Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov and I had a meeting with the well known politologist Brzezinski—stated unequivocally that if the referendum takes place in the Ukraine it will recognize Ukraine's independence. In that way Ukraine will create its armed forces. Moldova, Georgia, and Azerbaijan are now doing the very same thing. Therefore, to say that today we can have united armed forces is simply a scholastic dispute, I want to stress once again.

Therefore at issue is that those republics that sign—if they sign—the political treaty, will make up what remains of the former USSR Armed Forces. The remaining part of the armed forces—in particular the Ukraine and Moldova—these republics have stated that they are prepared to come into the collective security system at the level of bilateral relations, in particular with Russia, and so on. This is how the first day, yesterday, ended and we came to an agreement that today, by the end of the day, we would try to sign some document or at least to send it to the corresponding parliaments of the former Union republics, a document on the foundations of collective security between the former Union republics. This is what we need to start from today.

The second question—the most complicated probably because it is a question of money—is the question of the budget. We understand perfectly well the state that the Armed Forces have found themselves in today, both the personnel—officers and draftees—and thousands upon thousands, if not to say (?even) millions of workers and engineers who work for the military-industrial complex. Almost 80 percent of our industry was indirectly or directly connected with the military-industrial complex, and today the matter is being raised that these people may in the near future find themselves without a livelihood. Therefore the examination of the military budget is also a very important and serious matter.

The USSR Defense Ministry has tried for the first time—by the way, this must be noted as a positive fact—to submit its system of calculation of the military budget and to involve representatives of the parliaments of all Union republics in the adoption of the military budget. By the way, way, this was done for the first time. In connection with the fact that this was done for the first time and, as the saying goes, first attempts are usually not very successful, matters turned out to be simply incomprehensible to us. In particular, I have already told you of the republics that announced they will have their own armed forces; of course they do not intend to finance the armed forces—unless perhaps strategic arms—this was stated both by Moldova and the Ukraine.

Second, the majority of the Central Asian republics, except for Kazakhstan, have stated that they are in receipt of subsidies and therefore their contribution to the military budget should be extremely low if indeed they contribute at all. In this way it is left to Russia to foot the bill.

The preliminary figure, I do not think that we are revealing any secret here, the more so as the Americans have been aware [chuckles] of this figure for a long time. [sentence as heard] Well then, the preliminary budget for the Armed Forces is 105 billion [currency not given] for next year at today's prices. We multiply by five on 1

December, possibly by seven (?or) by 10 on 1 January. You can calculate how much this will be.

[Nikiferov] Crazy figures!

[Stepahsin] Colossal figures! Therefore we have proposed the following plan. Without analyzing all subheadings of the budget, we stated today—I spoke today on behalf of Russia—that undoubtedly Russia would do everything possible to see that the Armed Forces are looked after, but we believe that today there probably should be three main areas. The first is the social protection of the servicemen, both of officers and draftees. The second is resolving the question of providing the veterans of the Armed Forces with a pension because today they will simply find themselves thrown overboard. Third, we believe that today it is necessary nevertheless to prevent the possibility of the military-industrial complex being destroyed.

There must be serious reductions here in the purchases of armaments, equipment, etc. We must go as far as paying the wages of blue- and white-collar workers of enterprises of the military-industrial complex which come under conversion even if these enterprises will not be producing anything. These are more or less the lines along which we should be conducting the discussion today, and we proposed the following plan: Yes, we will be examining in the near future the questions of drawing up the Union's military budget, but first we must examine each class of expenditure in turn. About each class: a very careful apportionment, where, what programs will the entire military budget be spent on, firstly in the planning and budgetary commissions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, then in Russia's Supreme Soviet [as heard] itself, and then submit it to the Union's Supreme Soviet. The majority of the Union republics have agreed with us. This is how the results of the first two days of work of this session can be evaluated briefly.

Burbulis Stresses Need for Economic Reform

LD0312211691 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Most participants in today's meeting of the council of the economic union member-states' heads of government are inclined to seek agreement concerning the sharing of the former Soviet Union's assets and liabilities, Russian Vice Premier Gennadiy Burbulis told journalists here today.

"Most sovereign republics are interested in constructive joint activity," he stressed and added that "the solution of the problems of debts is pivotal for defining the West's attitude to our country".

Burbulis told journalists that participants in the meeting had been issued the main documents concerning reforms in Russia and said the Russian Government was ready to discuss with the heads of government of sovereign states any details relating to coordinated joint activities in this field, including price liberalization, taxes and privatisation.

Burbulis said that coordinated economic reforms "can do their bit" in overcoming the present impasse in the drawn-out political dialogue among former republics of the union.

Asked about his reaction to the Ukrainian independence referendum, Burbulis said he welcomed the choice made by the Ukrainian people and stressed the need to strengthen interaction between Russia and the Ukraine.

Government Discusses Price Liberalization

PM0212142791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[V. Kononenko report: "Dress Rehearsal for Freeing of Prices"]

[Text] The 28 November session of the RSFSR Government could be called a dress rehearsal for the freeing of prices.

The discussion of the first item on the agenda—amending the price formation mechanism—took approximately an hour and ended in the adoption of a resolution. It clarifies the main points of the draft presidential decree on price liberalization. It was decided, in particular, that maximum prices will be set for the groups of goods announced previously by the president, including a narrow range of foodstuffs, medicines, and energy resources. A small amount of fuel, however, will be sold at free prices. In addition to the number of foodstuffs for which the government is setting maximum prices and for which funds are being allocated from the republic budget to compensate the producers, others could also appear on this privileged list. For example, local organs of power may, at their discretion, extend it with funds from their own budgets.

So the technical aspect of the concept of freeing prices has, on the whole, been worked out. The president has to sign the corresponding decree and government resolution, which will come into force at once. The specific date for this has not yet been decided, but IZVESTIYA's correspondent has learned that the president will append his signature only after two other important questions have been decided. The first is the decree on the new (tougher) system of taxation. It will be discussed and signed in a week's time. The second question is that of agreeing on the date for price liberalization with the partners in the former Union. Nonetheless, as already reported, the start of liberalization is planned for December or, more exactly, for the middle of the month.

The session also discussed questions of the payment of the foreign debt, the conclusion of interrepublic and economic treaties for 1992, securities, and property of the former USSR Foreign Ministry. A decision was adopted on the last question in the spirit that, since there is no one to fund the former Union Foreign Ministry, Russia takes over this expenditure and the property of the Ministry of External Relations passes to its jurisdiction. As for the list of the other remaining Union structures which was discussed at Novo-Ogarevo, the Russian Government intends to reduce it substantially so as not to reproduce the old structures, which do not accord with the new realities of the state system.

The last item on the agenda was that of the government's relations with parliament, which has been debated so pointedly in recent days. Fortunately, so government circles believe today, the crisis that has become apparent has not yet broken. After a series of top-level contacts both powers have demonstrated a readiness to compromise, and the government has verified this.

Labor Collectives Group Protests Privatization

PM0212134591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[TASS-RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY report under the "News" rubric: "Statement by the Interrepublic Union of Labor Collectives"]

[Text] "The labor collectives are worried by the new Russian Government's obvious move toward privatizing state enterprises at the expense of their constitutional owners—the people. Mass redundancies are under way. The nomenclature continues to pillage enterprises." This is how the Council of Representatives of the Interrepublic Union of Labor Collectives described the complex and volatile situation in the country in an appeal sent to President Yeltsin.

The appeal notes: "Any program which does not have the workers' support is doomed to failure." To prevent this from happening, the Council of the Interrepublic Union of Labor Collectives believes that an RSFSR presidential decree is required, whereby state enterprises will come under complete economic control by the collectives represented by their elected organs of self-management—the Labor Collective Councils. It is the Labor Collectives Council which should hire managers, preventing the misappropriation of property and realizing immediate privatization.

Independent Broadcasters Criticize Media Law

PM0212133391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[TASS-RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY report under the "News" rubric: "Law Criticized"]

[Text] The draft Russian Law on the Media was adopted at first reading at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of the Republic session 27 November.

At a news conference held the same day, representatives of the Russian Association of Independent Television and Radio Broadcasting severely criticized Article 32 of the new law (on the procedure for issuing licenses). In particular, this article envisages the compulsory allocation of air time by all television and radio companies for programs from the Russian radio company. However, according to Mikhail Fedotov, deputy Russian minister for the press and mass information and one of the authors of the new law, the state in any country intervenes in the work of independent companies and participates, for example, in scheduling air time.

Government Reforms Focus on Self-Reliance

LD0312235591 Moscow TASS in English 2157 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—A newly formed Russian Government did not cherish any illusions as to the results of the referendum on the Ukraine's independence, and is ready to function under the new conditions of a disintegrated Soviet Union, Aleksey Golovkov, the Russia's state secretary adviser and one of the authors of the reform programme, told a news conference today.

According to Golovkov, the authors of the Russian programme believed the treaty on economic community would probably not be implemented. Now that the misgivings proved to be right, Russians are ready to put its own reform programme into effect, even under the most inauspicious external conditions. At the same time Golovkov is convinced the republics, including the Ukraine, will stop short of full secession from the USSR, as it will do damage to their own interests, in the first place.

Russia continues to pin hopes on a common ruble zone among the republics, but at the same time is considering seriously the introduction of its own currency, Golovkov stressed.

The Russian president's decree on price liberalisation has not been signed so far, but it is now at a final stage of elaboration and consultations with the parliament, the state secretary adviser disclosed. Speaking on the prospects for interaction between Russia's Government and parliament, he pointed out there are no principle disagreements between them on the reform issue.

'Special Service' To Handle Arms Sales

LD0312120191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] The Russian Federation is to set up a special service for selling arms to third countries. The service will consist of officials of the republic's Government Committee for Conversion, the Defense Ministry, and a department which is being created at the Russian Foreign Ministry to consider the political aspects of arms exports. The Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said a few days ago that control over Soviet arms supplies is an area where Russia is assuming responsibility. It's reported by sources close to the White House of the Russian Federation that next year the

Russian Government expects to earn between 15 and 20 billion dollars from arms sales.

Government Plans To Have Nuclear Sufficiency

OW0312162291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1514 GMT 3 Dec 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian leadership plans to have a nuclear potential within the range of "optimum or minimal reasonable sufficiency," said Mr. Gely Batenin, RSFSR deputy foreign minister, in an exclusive interview with DP [Diplomatic Panorama] on December 3. He and the representatives of the other sovereign ex-Soviet nuclear republics—the Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Byelarus [Belorussia]—were members of the Soviet delegation at Washington talks to reduce strategic and tactical weapons. The talks were led by Soviet deputy foreign minister Aleksey Obukhov.

All the republics including the Ukraine spoke at the talks in favour of preserving a common nuclear strategic space, said Mr. Batenin. They also emphasized the importance of centralized control of nuclear weapons. According to them, a common centre will be required to control the nuclear weapons. However, none of the republics strongly supported the idea of common armed forces.

Mr. Batenin does not believe that in the future the ex-Soviet sovereign states will conduct nuclear disarmament talks on their own. An understanding was reached that a common negotiating mechanism is required, as well as a common position—a necessity in view of the geostrategic space the Soviet republics share.

Official Says State Able To Distribute Aid

PM0312155791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with People's Deputy Valeriy Ikonnikov, chairman of the Commission for Humanitarian and Technical Aid, by Sergey Semendyayev under the rubric "At First Hand": "The Right Spoon for Lunch"]

[Text] The Commission for Humanitarian and Technical Aid was created by Russian presidential decree; RSFSR Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy has been entrusted with the leadership of its activity, while RSFSR People's Deputy Valeriy Ikonnikov has been appointed chairman. Today he answers questions put to him by your ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent.

[Semendyayev] Valeriy Innokentyevich, humanitarian aid has been flooding in for more than a year now, and so far it has been distributed more or less successfully and without any intervention from any government organs.

[Ikonnikov] I cannot agree with you that this aid has been distributed "more or less successfully." Unfortunately it can now be said definitely that it was used unproductively in many cases, not to mention the fact that because of poor supervision, a significant proportion of it disappeared without trace. However, distribution is not our commission's main aim. We have to review the actual structure of humanitarian and technical assistance to Russia in order to link it directly with our current needs. For example, what is the point of having foreign chocolates and other delicacies in bright packaging on the eve of a lean winter when there is no milk, eggs, butter, or meat in the stores? We do not need to be fattened up; we just want to live, so to speak.

[Semendyayev] But will the other republics in the former Union, and indeed our foreign partners agree to Russia's taking control of humanitarian aid intended for the entire USSR?

[Ikonnikov] We do not intend to control all the foreign aid, and we are prepared to take our share from the funds sent to the Union. The point is that we have to make optimum use of it on the territory of Russia, and we will be involved in that. Furthermore, I do not think that there will be any complaints: The process of dividing up foreign aid has already begun, and some republics are receiving it directly.

[Semendyayev] All right, it is a fact that before your commission was formed no one managed to organize the distribution, but how do you intend to resolve the problems involved in delivering and supervising the use of the humanitarian aid?

[Ikonnikov] We are now drawing up a plan for delivering and distributing goods sent here from abroad. It is no secret that a good proportion of these simply cannot be taken by the Union as there is not enough transport. We intend to involve the military, the Russian and interrepublic security services, the Union and Russian ministries of transport and related ministries, and the republic ministries of internal affairs, and with their assistance create a strict system for supervising the delivery of humanitarian aid.

[Semendyayev] But a multitude of various charitable and other organizations have been and still are involved in delivering the aid before you. The question arises: Why should foreign partners and private donors entrust you with the distribution of the goods they are sending?

[Ikonnikov] First of all, we are not going to interfere in private donations, particularly if they are being sent to a specific address. Our commission will be involved in food aid provided free or on credit by foreign governments, and also technical aid. Second, we do not expect all foreign aid to go through our commission.

[Semendyayev] Are you not afraid that the commission's state status will put foreigners off rather than attract them?

[Ikonnikov] Strange as it may seem, I think that our status will attract donors. We are a state organization, which means that there will be someone responsible for any violations that may occur.

[Semendyayev] The presidential resolution points out that the commission is being formed for the period of economic reform in Russia. What does this mean?

[Ikonnikov] Nothing, except that our commission will be abolished when economic reform is completed. We assume that humanitarian aid will not be needed by then.

Central Bank Head Comments on Releasing Money

LD0212184291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] The fears that in the near future Russian banks will stop releasing money for paying wages are groundless. Aleksandr Zinchenko, head of money circulation of the Central Bank of Russia, made a statement to this effect in an interview with the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY [RIA]. According to RIA, however, on 25 November, the Republic's Central Bank sent a telegram to its branches forbidding, until the end of this year, money for paying bonuses for the current year's work results and remunerations for long service. Zinchenko believes that Boris Yeltsin discussed this problem with Mikhail Gorbachev and that the presidents have found a solution.

Bank Pays Cash to Enterprises

LD0212221191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Now about a problem that affects each and every one of us, especially in conditions of transition to the market when prices are not keeping up with wages: beginning today, at the administration of the affairs of the Central Bank of Russia, the payment of cash to enterprises and institutions on the republic's territory. This affects the payment of the so-called "13th wage," the bonus for the results of work, for meritorious service over the years, and others. USSR State Bank Chairman Gerashchenko confirmed that such measures are indeed being undertaken lately, without the agreement of the Union state bank. Zemchenko, head of the Directorate of Money Circulation of the Central Bank of Russia, explained the delay in the paying out of money to some organizations by a telegram from the USSR State Bank chairman of 28 November, according to which the paying out of cash to organizations that are financed from the Union budget has been suspended. I will remind you that this problem was discussed a few days ago by Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev.

More on Cash Situation

LD0312225291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports that no restrictions have been introduced on deposits or withdrawals in Khabarovsk. On 2 and 3 December money was issued for payment of wages to the enterprises, including those which have accounts in commercial banks. At the same time, in Tyumen they were forced to refuse withdrawal of money from accounts as there is no money. Russia's Savings Bank could not provide any information on the situation on the entire territory of the republic, as there is no daily accounting of this kind.

Worsening Food Shortage on Eve of Winter

OW2911023291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1946 GMT 28 Nov 91

[From "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] This year, the grain harvest in Russia, with its population of 150 mn [million], will amount to some 90 mn tons after the grain has been cleaned and dried, the RSFSR's State Committee for Statistics estimates. These results are 23 down from 1990, but not much lower, for instance, than was the harvest in 1988. Russia's leaders are taking pains to assure the population that bread supplies will be sufficient.

However, although the grain harvest may be bad, production shortfalls in other branches of agriculture are much more marked. Equally troubling is the collapse of the former system of providing the population with foodstuffs.

Livestock: A 10-13% Decline

Meat production between January 1 and end-October 1991 was 13% less than the corresponding period last year, and milk output was down by 10%. The number of cattle dropped by 6% and of pigs, by 11%. Only poultry stayed at last year's level.

With animal feed in short supply (stocks are down from a year ago), the number of livestock is expected to suffer a further cut back, as is the volume of products that farm animals provide.

Farmers Are Withholding Potatoes and Grain

The potato harvest at kolkhozes and sovkhozes reached 9 mn tons this year, not much lower than 1990. But supply problems may still arise this winter since farmers are very reluctant to sell their crops to the government.

As in previous years, most of the foodstuffs required to feed the population are being purchased by the government from kolkhozes and sovkhozes at state-set prices. The products are then processed and sold in retail outlets at prices also set by the state.

This year, however, farmers are trying to evade selling their crops to the government. Their hope is to sell their grain and other crops during the winter at much higher, freely set market prices.

For its part, the government is now bereft of levers to force the farms to sell their output to the state. It can only promise kolkhozes and sovkhozes that it will provide them with machinery, fertilizer and consumer goods at low, state-set prices. However, such promises have been made—but not kept—for several years now and thus farmers remain sceptical.

The result of this stalemate is that, this year, the government was able to buy only 22 mn tons of grain (65% of the amount it was able to purchase in 1990), and 4.2 mn tons of potatoes (95% of last year's volume of purchases). Meanwhile, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are selling ever larger volumes of grain, potatoes and other crops through non-governmental channels. (From January to end-October 1991, 6.1 mn tons of grain were sold this way).

As a result, Moscow and St. Petersburg, which formerly were supplied almost entirely through centralized government food stocks, this year may face serious food shortages. Russia's State Committee for Statistics reports that only 330,000 tons of potatoes (a mere two-thirds of the planned supply) have already been delivered to Moscow. For St. Petersburg, the situation is much worse: the 38,000 tons of potatoes delivered so far are only 21% of the planned supply.

Output of Foodstuffs in Russia (1981-1991 in mn of tons)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Wheat	74	98	104	85	99	107	99	94	105	117	90
Gvt purch of wheat	23	38	45	29	40	42	35	29	31	34	21
Potatoes	32	41	42	43	34	43	38	34	34	31	30*
Meat	7.4	7.6	8.3	8.5	8.5	8.9	9.4	9.8	10.1	10.1	9*
Milk	45	47	50	50	50	52	53	54	56	56	52*

*—Forecast of the RSFSR State Committee for Statistics

Communist Workers End Yekaterinburg Congress

PM2711161191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Nov 91 p 2

[Correspondent V. Fomin report under the "Parties, Movements" rubric: "Russian Communist Workers Party Born in the Urals"]

[Text] Yekaterinburg—The founding congress of the RCWP [Russian Communist Workers Party] completed its work in Yekaterinburg late in the evening of 24 November. The decision to found the party, the program statement, and the party statutes were adopted following a strenuous debate lasting two days, and the central organs were elected.

The congress tasked its Central Committee with registering the RCWP in accordance with the requirements of legislation.

Precisely 525 delegates represented 12 republics, four krays, and all oblasts of the Russian Federation, as well as the major industrial cities. The largest representation was for engineering and technical personnel (197 seats) and workers (87). The unemployed introduced a new line into the social structure of the congress—they had 30 delegates.

What aims does the new party set itself? In accordance with the basic program provisions, they can be formulated as follows. The elimination of man's exploitation by man in any form, the destruction of social and ethnic inequality, the unity and integrity of Russia and the Soviet Union, and the free and comprehensive development of everyone under conditions of full prosperity. The struggle for the restoration of genuine Soviet power, in other words the working people's political and economic power, is chosen as the means of achieving these aims. The party's very name emphasizes its succession from communist ideals and its class nature. At the same time it is particularly noted that the party of the working class is simultaneously the party of the entire working people, since the working class will be unable to improve its position without improving that of the peasantry and the intelligentsia. Thus, in struggling for its own fundamental interests, it expresses the interests of all working people. This is why the party's ranks are open wide to any honest person who seeks the wherewithal to exist by means of his own labor.

Anyone who shares the RCWP program, who obeys the statutes, and who has attained the age of 16 years will be able to become a party member. This age limit was set in a multiple-choice ballot and is aimed at attracting into the party young people who do not now have their own political organization. Incidentally, the most impassioned debate flared up over the statutes, and there were several versions of many articles. As a result, they include the following points, for example. The maximum labor remuneration for full-time party workers has been set at no more than the wages of a highly skilled worker, and 60 percent of party dues go to meet the needs of the primary organization. The statutes do not permit factionalism in the party, and they assign to workers and peasants more than one-half the seats in elected leadership organs and limit the holding of leadership posts to two terms.

The delegates saw for themselves how difficult it sometimes is to abide by one's own principles literally a few hours later, when nominating candidacies for the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, and yet the rigid quotas were observed. Precisely 85 people were elected to the Central Committee, 45 of whom are workers and peasants.

In my opinion, the RCWP has become the fourth, if not the fifth, political party based on Marxist-Leninist teaching. Their program aims and the means of achieving them have far more in common than they have differences. Therefore it is natural that the idea of unification was present all through the congress. Both a majority of the delegates and representatives of other parties invited to the congress spoke about this. The exchange of opinions resulted in the congress resolution calling for the unification of all communist parties and the creation of a Comintern within the framework of the former Union.

"What are your impressions of the congress?" I inquired of several delegates. I will cite just one reply, that of G. Ivanov, delegate from the city of Tolyatti:

"I was sent to the congress with a mandate to create a communist workers party. The congress, and thus I too, coped fully with this task. Everything else is trifle."

Grigoriy Ivanovich included among the "trifles," as I understood it, not only some overt problems of the debate in the party milieu but also the atmosphere that developed in Yekaterinburg around the congress. For example, while the congress delegates arriving from all ends of the country were being registered in the Railroad Workers' House of Culture, at a city soviet session, which was being transmitted live, Yekaterinburg City Soviet Chairman Yu. Samarin was reading out a statement warning the congress organizers of the responsibility incumbent on them in connection with violating a presidential decree. Let us pay tribute to the deputies' civic maturity: They rejected that statement by a majority of votes. On the other hand, the "Democratic Union" proved its true worth. Some 20-30 of its followers spent two days picketing the Railroad Workers' House of Culture. In this the "mildest" slogan urged: "Let us fight the hydra of communism!" They failed, however, to intimidate anyone in this way, and so the House of Culture received a telephone call Sunday morning: The building will be blown up at 1000. True, sappers were summoned, but they found nothing. There were no nervous people in the hall. The congress began its work on time and ended late at night, having worked through its agenda.

New Socialist Workers Party Policies Outlined

LD2911104591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0930 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Report by TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov (TASS)—The priority of the inherent value of the individual and the protection of interests of the majority of the population are the main ideological guidelines of the Socialist Workers' Party [Sotsialisticheskaya Partiya Trudyashchikhsya—SPT] which will hold its first congress on the 21-22 December. Those who initiated the creation of the new party, which claims a part of the CPSU's "ideological heritage," include some people's deputies of the USSR, RSFSR and local levels, such as historian Roy Medvedev, cosmonaut Vitaliy Sevastyanov, and others. Lyudmila Vartazarova, cochairman of the SPT Organizational Committee, former secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, spoke about this in an interview with the TASS correspondent.

Within the political spectrum of the recently created parties which may be regarded as "CPSU heirs" in varying degrees, the SPT is on the right. The left wing is occupied by Nina Andreyeva's neo-Stalinist VKP(B) [All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)] and the Russian Communist Workers' Party set up recently in Yekaterinburg - the former "initiative congress" whose leaders, according to Lyudmila Vartazarova, "are difficult to deal with." In the view of SPT organizers, more acceptable positions are being professed by the "Communist Alliance" set up on the basis of the Marxist platform in the CPSU, with which the SPT is prepared to cooperate. "I believe that the SPT is a left center or, in Western terms, the left wing of Social Democracy," the co-chairman of the organizational committee says. We think that all forms of ownership have a right to exist, but priority should be given to collective forms of ownership and to share-holding.

The SPT has proclaimed itself a voice and a defender of the interests of "those who produce material and spiritual values, the hired personnel, collective, and individual owners who live by their own labor and also students and pensioners."

The party has an unequivocal opinion of the progress of the economic reform started by the RSFSR president, believing the liberalization of prices to be a socially unjust and economically ineffective step. Lyudmila Vartazarova believes that a money reform like that in the postwar FRG could be an alternative to it. The SPT also reckons that the reform that has started fails to provide for creation of a basis for modernization and structural change of the Russian economy.

The party's immediate task is to work out its own proposals for the economic sections of the program as quickly as possible, and to make contact with the ruling structures and "try to make some contribution towards having economic reform in Russia not be at the cost of the effective casting of the absolute majority of the population beyond the bounds of a normal existence," the organizational committee's co-chairman said.

The party is attuned to constructive cooperation with all political forces outside the "left spectrum" whose civic positions are going to coincide with the SPT's positions. Among these, the Kadets [Constitutional Democrats], the Republicans, and the Social-Democrats are closest to the SPT, Lyudmila Vartazarova said.

Lyudmila Vartazarova stated that the "democratic structures" are not as yet "putting spokes in the wheel" of the promoters of the SPT. "They evidently hope that this will be a civilized and balanced party without extremism, one that will aim for practical deeds. They are not hindering us, in the hope that the left center will create a balance for the forces that exist in the political arena."

The manifesto adopted at the constituent SPT conference notes that "the CPSU was unable to transform itself at the right time from a state-administrative party into a working people's political organization of a modern type." Lyudmila Vartazarova said that some of the former leaders of the RSFSR Communist Party, including Valentin Kuptsov, elected its first secretary shortly before it was banned, support the SPT.

Problems in Ferrous Metals Industry Examined

OW0412012391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1927 GMT 3 Dec 91

["Cover Story" from the 4 December "Soviet Business Report": "Russia's Ferrous Metallurgy: Development Problems"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's ferrous metallurgical industry is undergoing serious problems due to falling production, economic decentralization and obsolete equipment. But a technical refurbishment programme requires enormous capital investment.

Metal Production

Russia today produces more than 10% of the world's steel output, making it one of the largest ferrous metal producing countries. 1990 saw the production of some 64 million tons [as received] of finished rolled metal, more than 12 million tons of piping, in the region of 90 million tons of steel and approximately 60 million tons of pig iron.

Proved Iron Ore Reserves

The proved iron ore reserves of Russia are estimated at 97 billion tons, which is 70% of the total Union reserves. Proved reserves of coking coal amount to 43 billion tons, or 60% of the Union reserves. The main reserves of natural gas are also concentrated in Russia—in Western Siberia alone proved gas reserves are estimated at 70% of the total Union reserves.

Production Potential

Russia has tremendous production potential with all its metallurgical, coke-oven by product and ore mining enterprises. The largest of these are the Novolipetsk Steelworks, which works completely on continuous flow casting, the Magnitogorsk Steelworks, which produces more than 16 million tons of steel a year, the Oskolskiy Electrometallurgical Steelworks, the largest plant in the world working on new direct reduction technology, and the Cherepovetsk Steelworks, which has the largest blast furnace in the world.

Alternatives to Import

The installation of new equipment, mainly in the Russian enterprises, and the use of new technology have meant an end to the imports of such products as transformer and dynamo steel, carbon structural steel bars, ordinary metal sheets, metal cord, various types of steel mesh and various other metal products.

Problems Facing the Russian Metallurgical Industry

The production of ferrous metals in Russia is faced with a number of problems that continue to hold it back.

1. Falling production has resulted in the dislocation of normal contacts between the enterprises not only in different republics, but also within the Russian Republic itself. For example, the production of drilling steel will almost be brought to a halt due to the lack of cast iron supplies from the Ukraine. Breakdown in the delivery of coking coal and manganese ore have led to the complete closure of the Kosogorsk Metallurgical Combine (near Tula), the only plant in the country producing special ferromagnetic alloys.

From January to December 1991 the production of steel and finished rolled metal in the RSFSR fell by some 12-15%, while steel piping was 10% down on the previous year's level.

Iron ore production dropped 13% and coking coal production 25%. From January to September, 1991, only 76% of contract agreements for metal scrap and waste could be met.

2. The structure of metal production in the RSFSR is not in line with modern requirements, as can be seen by the following figures:

—in 1990, only 43.6% of all finished rolled metal was in the form of rolled sheet, and of this only 25.9% was cold rolled;

—only 46.5% of all steel production in 1990 was produced by modern methods and only 23.5% of all cast steel was produced by continuous casting.

3. Approximately 50% of all fixed productive capital in the Russian metallurgical plants is obsolete. The average coefficient of renewal over the last five years has been 1.3%, but over the last two years this has dropped to 1.2%. (Over the ten years from 1981 to 1990 capital investment in technical refurbishment in the RSFSR was 40%.)

4. A serious ecological situation has developed in a number of metallurgical centres in the RSFSR with permissible norms being increased 8-10 times. The main

reasons for this are the excessive concentration of industrial production, the extensive use of obsolete technology and equipment and the lack of financial resources allocated for these purposes.

5. There are considerable disproportions in the prices of metal products, on the one hand, and the prices of raw materials and metal products, on the other.

The Causes of the Crisis and the Ways To Overcome It

Mr. Oleg Soskovets, former USSR minister of the metallurgical industry and now president of the Roschermet Corporation, sees the main reasons for the breakdown in metallurgical production to lie in the disappearance of a coordinated centre, the internal inconvertibility of the ruble and the lack of understanding between the miners and the oil producers.

A full scale technical refurbishment programme is required, if improvements are to be made in the Russian ferrous metals industry in market conditions. And such a programme needs considerable capital investment soon—a factor which should encourage the Russian ferrous metals industry to attract foreign investment.

Interrepublic Affairs

'Official Text' of Yeltsin Statement on Ukraine

LD0312193791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1807 GMT 3 Dec 91

["Official text" of statement by President Boris Yeltsin on recognition of the independence of Ukraine]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—A nationwide referendum on the future of the Ukraine took place on 1 December 1991. The Russian leadership declares its recognition of the independence of Ukraine in accordance with the democratic will of its people.

We are convinced of the possibility and need for the speediest establishment of new interstate relations between Russia and Ukraine, with the certainty of preserving the traditions that have formed, of friendship and good-neighborliness; mutual respect between both peoples; and strict observance of pledges, including on the non-proliferation and limitation of nuclear weapons, on human rights, and other universally acknowledged norms of international law.

The basis for a comprehensive and mutually beneficial partnership between Russia and Ukraine was laid down by the treaty of 19 November 1990 and other documents which followed it and the communique of 6 November 1991. We will continue to adhere to this strategic course. We are ready to start work on a draft full-scale interstate bilateral treaty, which would meet all the demands of the new stage of mutual relations between Russia and Ukraine.

All-round cooperation between our states, their mutual dependence, and the positive experience of our mutual relations in the past, demand a particularly careful attitude.

Mutually beneficial and balanced cooperation between Russia and Ukraine can and must become an example of bilateral relations between the republics of the old Union. New possibilities are opening up for close cooperation with other republics and for forming a genuinely equal community of sovereign states.

The new partnership between Russia and Ukraine—two sovereign states—will become a weighty contribution to security and stability on the continent—in accordance with the CSCE principles—and to the positive processes in the world.

Adherence by the Russian and Ukrainian states to the observance of obligations in the area of disarmament, human rights, and national minorities, including avoiding discrimination on the basis of language; openness [otkrytosti] of borders; freedom of choice of citizenship; and cooperation in the formation of a common economic space and in the development of contiguous regions, will create a good basis for the most rapid establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and Ukraine.

Burbulis Comments on Statement

OW0312215891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2035 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Gennadiy Burbulis, first deputy head of the RSFSR government, told journalists Tuesday [3 December] that Boris Yeltsin's statement on the results of the December 1 referendum on independence in the Ukraine "removes all questions."

"Since we are firmly in favor of the observance of the peoples' rights, we regard the Ukrainains' choice as a political and moral law," Mr. Burbulis said. He added that Russia, "as a friendly Slav republic first and foremost," fully recognized the Ukrainian people's expression of will and would do its best "to strengthen its ties with the Ukraine, rather than call them into question."

Commenting on the main topic for discussion at the session of the Council of 12 republican premiers—coordination of efforts to see through economic reform—Mr. Burbulis said that most of the republics "are evidently interested in constructive cooperation."

He said Russia had long since made its choice with regard to the rates and forms of the reform. He noted that the Russians could not be expected to feel dependent on whatever agreements may be reached by the leaders of the sovereign republics.

Supreme Soviet To Examine Decision

LD0412095491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Report by correspondent Vera Shchelkunova from the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow]

[Text] Why did Yeltsin last night unilaterally, on behalf of the Russian leadership, recognize the Ukraine as independent? What, in any case, is the mechanism for official recognition? These questions have been posed in the Chamber of Nationalities of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Deputies decided to examine this situation tomorrow at a joint session of the Supreme Soviet. For the time being, the Council of Nationalities intends to delve into a very complex problem: measures to ensure stability in the RSFSR and the integrity of its territory. Chamber Chairman Ramazan Abdulatipov proposed to conclude as soon as possible a treaty delimiting the powers between federal administrative bodies of the RSFSR and submitted this for examination by the Congress of People's Deputies as a special law to be enshrined in the relevant section of the new RSFSR constitution.

Commentary on Ukraine 'Separation'

LD0312232991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Commentary by Nikolay Svanidze—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The separation of the Ukraine and its unwillingness to participate in the new union fundamentally alter the position of Russia inside the future Union of Sovereign States, if it is, in fact, created. Our commentator analyzes the new situation.

[Svanidze] Since the Ukrainian referendum, Russia's geopolitical position has changed. The splitting away of the huge, democratically minded, ethnically and culturally related Ukraine objectively turns Russia around like a fairytale cottage: with its back to the West and its front toward the Muslim East.

In the Union of Sovereign States, if Russia were inside it today, it would have as its companions five Asian republics with a combined population of almost 50 million and Armenia with its 3 million and Belarus [Belorussia] with its 10 million. The skew is evident. The danger here is not in the threat of the notorious Islamic factor to the orthodox virginity of Russia. Politics is what counts, not religion. Russia will inevitably be under massive conservative pressure. That it will be precisely conservative is shown by the result of the presidential elections in Kazakhstan, where 99 percent of those who came to the polling stations voted for the unchallenged, though undoubtedly worthy, Nazarbayev. Such a result indicates not only the popularity of the candidate but also the absolute habit of uniformity of opinion. Otherwise, even if the Lord God himself wanted to become president, he would not gain so many votes. Yet Kazakhstan is the most democratic of the Asian republics.

Powerful pressure from the east without the necessary counterweight will become mortally dangerous for the fledgeling Russian democracy. Such a prospect puts the expediency for the RSFSR of a confederal union with the present membership under a big question mark. On the other hand, Russia, which would have just the same single vote inside it as any of the Asian republics, would be obliged to resist their pressure by unconstitutional means, by simply refusing to carry out the imposed decisions. This would lead to unavoidable conflicts, blowing the Union of Sovereign States apart.

As a result, Western politicians have now lost faith in the viability of such a union and are decisively switching their political allegiance from Gorbachev to Yeltsin. The secession of the Ukraine and the unnatural Asiatic lopsidedness in Gorbachev's shadowy state formation clearly spell out the end for the political era of Gorbachev.

Customs Crossing Posts Set Up on Ukraine Border

LD0412061491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1921 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Lev Konorev]

[Text] Belgorod, 3 Dec (TASS)—Today the Belgorod Oblast Soviet Executive Committee adopted a resolution establishing 10 customs crossing posts on the border between Belgorod Oblast (south Russia) and neighboring Ukraine.

A TASS correspondent established that this is being done within the framework of the program for the temporary restriction on the removal of agricultural products and foodstuffs. The oblast leadership has been forced to take this measure in view of the recent sharp increase in the unlicensed moving around of foodstuff resources to various regions in the country. This is having a noticeable effect on the provision of foodstuffs to the oblast's population.

Local Affairs

'600 Seconds' Program, Nevzorov Taken Off Air

PM0412112991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 91 p 2

[Correspondent N. Volynskiy report: "How 'Seconds' Are Being Cut"]

[Text] In St. Petersburg at 2140 on 28 November power consumption increased as always: Practically everyone who has a television was getting ready to watch "600 Seconds," but instead the face of V. Yugin, general director of the local television and radio company, appeared on the screen. "Something is up," you thought to yourself. "Either there is a new State Committee for the State of Emergency or they have taken Nevzorov off."

The boss of the airwaves did everything to avoid this verb. In the space of 600 seconds he rather incoherently reported to the inhabitants of St. Petersburg or Leningrad that he had carried out his program as a deputy very quickly—departyized the Army, Navy, KGB, and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and made a considerable contribution to glasnost's development. In particular, his main task now is to make television journalists in his department genuinely independent. This was all doubtless true, but where on earth was Nevzorov?

Nevzorov, as it was later possible to make out from Yugin's speech, had spoken at some rally, had "distorted facts," and had also failed to properly formalize his legal relations with the television and radio company, and so he would not be appearing on the air.

"We of course expected repression," Aleksandr Nevzorov informed PRAVDA, "because the present rulers greatly dislike our principle of not toadying to any authority and defending the ordinary people. Our team was expecting the democrats to make a strike, but we did not think it would be sudden and underhanded."

When A. Nevzorov went to the studio at 2100 as always, a huge lock was hanging from his door. Meanwhile militia posts were suddenly placed at the entrance to the television center and the studio where V. Yugin was getting ready for his historic appearance. That is, the television journalist was suddenly denied access to the airwaves, without warning, as usually occurs in coups d'etat.

"But we are not giving in," Nevzorov stated, "we work for the people not for the 'big shots,' and people will support us."

But V. Yugin, true to the principles of glasnost which he is developing so successfully, refused point-blank to give us any information whatsoever.

Incidentally, the former television and radio company chief also took off "600 Seconds" earlier on just as shaky a pretext, but later he was forced to put the program back on, and nothing prevented the new leader from resolving the legal side of the matter without taking people's favorite program away from them.

"600 Seconds" offers the following version of events. Nevzorov has recently strongly criticized City Mayor A. Sobchak and his wife, who in the program has been tactfully called the "lady in the turban" or the "beauty in silks" and who stated on television that the citizens have no food problem and that their tables are apparently groaning with victuals. His wife's statement provoked a storm of protest and Nevzorov returned to this subject several times, and as a result Sobchak ordered Yugin to remove Nevzorov at any price. Allegedly the mayor's aggrieved wife played an important part in this matter.

It is very easy for A. Sobchak to prove the possible untenability of this story by returning Nevzorov to the air. What is more the viewers want this. The city is angry.

Demonstrators Protest

LD0412110291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Meetings and demonstrations are continuing in support of "600 Seconds," the St. Petersburg television program that has been taken off the air. Yesterday there were protests at Moscow's Manege Square and St. Petersburg's Sheet Steel Works Club. The outline of Nashi [Ours], a new patriotic movement, has been created. Apart from USSR People's Deputy Alksnis and ["600 Seconds"] commentator Aleksandr Nevzorov, it includes several deputies from the St. Petersburg City Soviet, law enforcement officers, and workers.

[Begin Nevzorov recording] It is absolutely clear that this is just a formality, just a pretext. In point of fact, I suspect we have been taken off the air because it is likely that there is going to be a serious provocation at the state level, and they are trying to gag all the mass media that are not under their control in order to avoid having the details of these provocations made public. They will do this—look at the press, they are pushing and pushing. They cannot do anything; they cannot deal with anything. So now they have an urgent need to find an enemy. [end recording]

The St. Petersburg Television and Radio Company is receiving numerous telegrams. Here is just one of them, from USSR People's Deputy and writer Vasiliy Belov. Addressing the leadership of the company, Belov says that by making this decision the company has publicly recognized that "600 Seconds" of truth from Aleksandr Nevzorov were stronger than hundreds of hours of hypocrisy, lies, and pornography. Future historians will say that 28 November was the date of the funeral of freedom of speech in Russia, Belov concludes.

'600 Seconds' Controversy Detailed

LD0412111191 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT 3 Dec 91

["Special to TASS" by Genine Babakian]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Aleksandr Nevzorov, presenter of the controversial television programme "600 Seconds", said in a television interview today that government authorities will not succeed in stifling the voices of the independent media. The conflict over his program's cancellation continues in Moscow and St. Petersburg today, where hardline political activists demonstrated in support of Nevzorov.

The St. Petersburg television station suddenly pulled the programme off the air last Thursday [28 November] after Viktor Yugin, director of Lenteleradio, blamed legal and financial problems for the action. Nevzorov dismissed the excuse, claiming instead the government is scrambling to stifle opposition media in preparation for a future purge to oust conservative elements.

The cancellation sparked a sharp outcry from loyal supporters of the programme, which boasts some 70 million viewers across the country. Thousands of members of the new political group "Ours" rallied in defence of Nevzorov. Journalists were barred from the demonstration, and one camera crew was assaulted as it attempted to take pictures.

"Ours" defends the role of strong central government and the rights of Russian citizens—particularly those living in the Baltic states. Recently formed, "Ours" assumed the name of the report made by Nevzorov to cover the violent crackdown in Vilnius last January, when Soviet armed forces fired on unarmed Lithuanian citizens, killing 13. Nevzorov earned the group's support by declaring the conflict an anti-Russian attack provoked by the Lithuanian people and glorifying the violent actions taken by the Soviet forces.

Nevzorov also gained support from Soviet People's Deputy Vasiliy Belov, who said that the day "600 Seconds" was pulled off the air would be remembered as the day free speech was buried in the Soviet Union.

While Nevzorov, a fervent Russian nationalist, enjoys a great deal of popular support among Russians, many disagree with his views, believing that his program only serves to worsen an already severe national crisis. Wounded once in an attempt on his life, Nevzorov has carried a gun for the past year, but it was confiscated by local authorities last week.

Since "600 Seconds" first came on the air several years ago it consistantly redefined the limits of glasnost with its harsh criticism of political leaders, including Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin among its victims. Many believe that Nevzorov's continuous verbal attacks on St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, and most recently on the mayor's wife, played a factor in the program's cancellation.

'Nashi' Works To Resume Broadcasting

LD0412112191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] In a telephone conversation with a Russian news agency correspondent, well known television journalist Aleksandr Nevzorov stated that the aim of the Nashi movement is to save the fatherland. According to Nevzorov, some 30,000 inhabitants of St. Petersburg have joined the movement. Leading the movement are Colonel Alksnis; (Mlynnik), former commander of a special purpose militia detachment; actor Burlayev; and Aleksandr Nevzorov himself. Nevzorov said the movement is planning to organize a blockade of the elections to local soviets and to set up alternative power structures as well as detachments that would swing into action in extreme situations. The movement's ultimate aim is to take power by constitutional means. Its first action will be to try to get the "600 Seconds" program back on the air and to change the management of St. Petersburg television.

Program To Resume 5 Dec

LD0412112691 Moscow TASS in English 2253 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] St. Petersburg December 4 TASS—The popular television news show "600 Seconds" will go on the air again from December 5, as decided by the board of directors of Petersburg television, it was announced late on Tuesday [3 December].

The ten-minute news programme that boasts a 70-million-strong audience as taken off the air on November 28. The head of the Petersburg Teleradio Committee Viktor Yugin blamed the move on the lack of legal and financial regulation of relations between the committee leadership and the independent television company "600 Seconds". The programme presenter Aleksandr Nevzorov disagreed and said the move was politically motivated.

The taking of the show off the air triggered off a wave of protests. Meetings in defence of the show were held in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Numerous telegrams in support of the programme were received at the Petersburg Teleradio Company and the Russian President Boris Yeltsin' office.

Soviet People's Deputy, writer Vasiliy Belov told the Teleradio Company leadership in telegram that "future historians will regard November 28 as the day the freedom of speech was buried in Russia".

Attack Reported on Chechen-Ingush Council

OW0212135691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armed supporters of the Niysho (justice) Party in the Checheno-Ingush Republic captured in an armed attack on Nov 30 the Nazran district council housing the polling station in the referendum concerning the Ingush autonomy within the Russian Federation, 16 people were wounded, 8 of them were hospitalized one in critical condition.

For the night about 50 armed men stayed to hold the premises.

Legislators Arrive in Checheno-Ingushestia

LD0312173291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] A group of RSFSR parliament and government experts arrived in Groznyy today in accordance with a Russian parliament decision. The purpose of their visit is to prepare for talks with all of the Chechen-Ingush sociopolitical forces.

Chechen Leader Adopts Military Service Decisions

PM0412124391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 91 First Edition p 2

[Major A. Petrov report: "Halt!"]

[Text] President Dzhakhar Dudayev of the Chechen Republic has adopted a number of decisions relating to military service in the republic. At a conference of local leaders he ordered that all senior officers arriving in the Chechen Republic be kept under surveillance [brat pod kontrol], detained, and brought to him in person. The sale of rail and air tickets to this category of servicemen is prohibited.

Recently the president of the Republic signed a decree on the military draft. It has been decided that only representatives of the Chechen Republic will be drafted into units of the Groznyy garrison. It is planned to send 500 men to a local unit of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry internal troops. Its command has been trying in vain to persuade the republic's leadership of the impossibility of recruiting, equipping, and deploying so many conscripts. Subunit commanders have informed the unit command that personnel will leave the subunits if local draftees begin entering the barracks.

Information Sought on Irkutsk Nuclear Tests

PM0312124591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2134 GMT 1 Dec 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] Irkutsk authorities are demanding exhaustive information from the Ministry of Atomic Power Engineering and Industry on nuclear tests carried out on the territory of the oblast. According to the POSTFACTUM agency, citing Irkutsk specialists, nuclear explosions were carried out there in the late seventies and early eighties. There is information that such tests have been in progress since the late fifties.

Moscow Soviet Wants Explanation of Privatization

OW0212195891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a meeting on Monday [2 December] the Presidium of the Mossoviet, having looked over Mayor Gavriil Popov's order on privatization of trade enterprises, consumer service establishments and supermarkets, announced that the order was in conflict with laws of the Russian Federation.

In its announcement the Presidium, signed by Mossoviet chairman Nikolay Gonchar, claims that the mayor's commands deny equal rights to Moscow's citizens, they "are deprived of the possibility of acquiring property rights for a significant part of the city's property."

The Mossoviet's Presidium passed a decision to further investigate the issue at a meeting December 4th of the Moscow city duma (smaller soviet). Until this time, it has been suggested that Popov suspend acting on his command. The mayor of Moscow has been invited to this meeting of the duma.

Moscow Mayor Does Not Rule Out Resignation

OW0412003491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moscow's Mayor Gavriil Popov does not rule out the possibility of resigning. "As any other politician, I am always open to that option," he said by way of commenting on his rumored intention to leave his post.

Mr. Popov was speaking to IF's [INTERFAX's] reporter after he had briefed representatives of foreign firms accredited in Moscow on the prospects of the work of the International University which he simultaneously heads. The university is a new-style educational institution currently being organized in the Soviet capital in accordance with the U.S. standards.

Mr. Popov said the university had obtained from the Moscow authorities the premises of what until recently had been a school for CPSU functionaries, 14 hectares of land in one of the Moscow suburbs where summer villas for top party executives were under construction, and a large plot of land in the famous recreational area of Peredelkino near Moscow.

He said overall expenses for the training of one future specialist (food and accommodation included) would annually amount to $10,000-$15,000.

Belorussia

Leader Urges 'Shock Therapy' To Halt Collapse

LD0312180491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1612 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By BELTA correspondent Valentina Menshikov]

[Text] Minsk, 3 Dec (TASS)—"Only shock therapy can extricate our society from total destruction. And as long as we do not have a normally functioning economy, no social programs will save us," said Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus [Belorussia], at a meeting with a trade union aktiv today. "Before freeing prices," he reported, "preemptive measures will be adopted; they are being elaborated. The republic is placed in tough conditions of a transfer to market relations because of the policy of its closest neighbors: Russia, the Ukraine, and the Baltic countries. The economy of Belarus depends on deliveries from these regions, and we are forced to adopt their rules of entering a market."

Draft Constitution Offered for Public Debate

LD0412065991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1146 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By correspondent Vyacheslav Zenkovich]

[Text] Minsk, 3 Dec (TASS)—The draft of a new constitution for the Republic of Belarus [Belorussia] was submitted today for general public debate. The document, published in the local press, assumes that presidential rule will be introduced in the republic.

The draft Fundamental Law of Belarus also provides for the possible renaming of the republic's Supreme Soviet as the Sejm, to consist of 160 deputies rather than the current 346.

According to the document, a citizen of Belarus may not under any circumstances be surrendered to a foreign state. The state language in the republic is to be Belorussian.

Moldova

President Rejects Decision To Join Romania

OW0312132491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1120 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Addressing Monday [2 December] evening a public gathering in the village of Khyncest in the framework of his election campaign, Moldova's President Mircea Snegur qualified as having no legal force the decision to join Romania taken at Monday's meeting in Kishinev by 27 Moldovan MPs [members of parliament]. Mircea Snegur called for an independent and indivisible Moldova. He is the only candidate for presidential elections to be held in Moldova on Sunday [8 December].

Leader Congratulates New Ukrainian President

OW0412152991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1235 GMT 4 Dec 91

["Bulletin 1" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Mircea Snegur of Moldova has sent a message of congratulations to President Leonid Kravchuk of the Ukraine, in which he describes his election as reflecting the nation's "appreciation of his genuine patriotism and political perspicacity, and its belief in his ability to lead the Ukrainian state along the road of freedom and progress."

President Snegur confirms the willingness of the Moldovan people to develop friendly relations with the Ukrainian people in various fields.

Ukraine

Kravchuk, Bush Discuss Referendum Results

LD0312211191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1650 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Viktor Demidenko]

[Text] Kiev, 3 Dec (TASS)—U.S. President George Bush telephoned the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet chairman today. He congratulated the people of Ukraine on gaining independence and Leonid Kravchuk on his election as president.

The results of the referendum are "simply stunning," George Bush noted. He reported that Tom Niles, U.S. undersecretary of state, soon will arrive in the Ukraine as his representative. Developing U.S.-Ukrainian relations, problems with disarmament, Europe's strategic balance, national minorities, human rights, and interrelations between the Ukraine and Russia will be discussed. All these problems will be discussed in greater detail with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who also will be visiting the Ukraine soon.

Leonid Kravchuk thanked the U.S. President for his congratulations and told him that 90.32 percent of those who voted spoke in favor of the Ukraine's independence. There was not a single oblast, a single region where this figure was lower than 50 percent. The Ukrainian parliament head briefed the U.S. President on his conversation with Boris Yeltsin, who said that Russia would recognize the Ukraine as an independent state after the official referendum data are published. "I will meet him and the Belarus [Belorussian] parliament head in Minsk on 7 December to discuss our states' internal and external policy issues," Leonid Kravchuk added.

In a brief interview after his conversation with the U.S. President, Leonid Kravchuk expressed confidence that the Ukraine soon will be recognized by many countries in Europe, America, and Asia. The Ukraine's place in the world, its geographical and political position, its economic potential, and its history all give grounds for this, he said. The Ukraine has taken the path of democratic development. It will adhere to the principles of democracy and freedom, and it intends to cooperate fruitfully with all republics of the former Union and with foreign countries. "As for relations with the center, as Mikhail Gorbachev told me over the telephone the other day, he has no intention at all of taking any measures with respect to the Ukraine," the Ukrainian parliament head stated.

Gorbachev Cited on Referendum Results

*PM0412110791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1*

[Report from roundup of IZVESTIYA, RIA, INTERFAX, REUTER, and SNARK reports]

[Text] The results of the referendum and presidential elections in the Ukraine were discussed by Mikhail Gorbachev at a conference in which Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR external relations minister, took part.

It has been reported in the USSR president's apparatus that Gorbachev is not inclined to assess the convincing approval of the Ukraine's independence as a result of the referendum as evidence of its intention to secede from the Union.

Foreign Minister on Russia's Recognition

*OW0312212891 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2035 GMT 3 Dec 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Asked by IF [INTERFAX] to comment on Boris Yeltsin's statement on the recognition of his republic's independence, the Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko said: "We had been looking forward to such a statement. Russia was first among the republics to congratulate us on the aquisition of independence yesterday (December 2). I received a call from Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. The first president to congratulate Leonid Kravchuk was Boris Yeltsin. That was most welcome. [no end quotation marks received]

According to Mr. Zlenko, Mr. Kozyrev asked him Monday [2 December] to explain to the Ukrainian people that some national media reports about Boris Yeltsin's allegedly negative attitude to Ukrainian independence were far from the truth.

"We are glad there is goodwill and a desire to strengthen friendship and cooperation in full accordance with our strategic course reflected in the package of documents signed last year. Boris Yeltsin's statement and our recent contacts in the political sphere show that we have no problems in our relations with Russia," A. Zlenko concluded.

On Yeltsin Meeting, Nuclear Issue

*LD0312235391 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 2100 GMT 3 Dec 91*

[Text] [Announcer] Gorbachev thinks that the Ukraine's independence is in no way an obstacle to its entry into the Union of Soviet States. This was said today by Gorbachev's press secretary, Grachev. People in Kiev, however, are thinking along completely different lines.

[Correspondent Knyazhitskiy] Yeltsin and Kravchuk will meet in the next few days on neutral territory. This was stated by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Zlenko today at a news conference. It is very pleasant for us, he noted, that Andrey Kozyrev was the first to congratulate us on our independence, and Boris Yeltsin was the first president to congratulate us. The independent Ukraine has already been recognized by Poland and Canada. Today a treaty was signed with Hungary, and a new sign hangs by the entrance to the Hungarian consulate: Embassy.

Zlenko made a statement stressing that the Ukraine upholds the external commitments of the former Union and is ready to pay its part of the external debt, but only after receiving its due share of the assets of the USSR. The Ukraine will independently build its own armed forces and intends to become a nuclear-free state.

Zlenko said: The Ukraine does not have, and does not wish to have, control over the nuclear weapons on its territory. We favor a joint command of the Ukraine, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. However, we shall not allow nuclear weapons to be moved and taken outside our territory. The Ukraine will abide by the pact on human rights, cares for national minorities, and champions their equality of rights.

On Coordination With Republics

LD0312172591

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1610 GMT on 3 December, in the Mayak Panorama program, broadcasts a four-minute report by correspondent Vladimir Sokolov from Kiev on events connected with the independence vote in Ukraine. Sokolov details some of the countries that have recognized independence, and describes a news conference by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Zlenko, which has just ended. He goes on: "The news conference was, naturally, held in Ukrainian, with the necessary translations for foreign guests. But I asked the minister to reply in Russian to this question: After independence, will Ukraine carry out some kind of coordination of its foreign policy with the Ministry of External Relations in Moscow and with the foreign policy services of the republics of the former Union?"

Zlenko's recorded reply is as follows: "In the interim period, we need to carry out coordination, to settle a whole range of practical matters. This morning I had a long conversation with [External Relations Minister] Shevardnadze on a number of practical matters, including that of dividing up property. At this stage, there is a mutual requirement for coordination. We are coordinating our work with the former Union republics, and we think we will put this on the basis of consultations between states. We have signed a whole range of protocols between Ministries of Foreign Affairs, of the Ukraine, and of other former Union republics."

On Treaties, Nuclear Arms

LD0312203591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1930 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev, 3 Dec (TASS)—The Ukraine upholds all treaties and agreements with foreign countries that have been reached up to the present moment, as well as all USSR treaties that are not at variance with its Constitution, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko told a news conference today.

Speaking about the tasks and directions of his ministry's activities following the 1 December Ukrainian independence referendum, Anatoliy Zlenko emphasized: The Ukraine seeks to be a nuclear-free state abiding by the three nonnuclear principles; namely, not to accept, produce, or acquire nuclear weapons. He noted, however, that it would be expedient to set up in today's transitional period a joint command for nuclear forces made up of representatives from the republics on the territory of which there are nuclear weapons. The Ukraine intends to participate in all talks on reducing nuclear weapons, the minister stressed.

The head of the republic's foreign policy department declared that the Ukraine intends to become a full participant in the all-European process and does not lay claim to any territory of any of the states. "We are categorically opposed to any attempt to revise the Helsinki Accords," he stressed.

As for external debts, Anatoliy Zlenko spoke in favor of the Ukraine paying its share of the debts of the former Soviet Union. At the same time, however, he wanted the Ukraine to receive its share of the funds that foreign states owe the former Union.

The minister stated: The Ukraine will form its own Army and National Guard. Moreover, their size will be determined by law and by the principle of reasonable sufficiency, and the process will be effected, bearing in mind treaties and consultations with other sovereign states.

The Ukraine will base its relations with the sovereign states that are former republics of the Union on the principles of good- neighborliness, respect, and openness of borders. As before, particular importance will be accorded relations with Russia, Anatoliy Zlenko emphasized.

China 'Respects' Independence Vote

LD0412133791 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 4 Dec 91

[By correspondents Vladimir Fedoruk and Konstantin Toporkov]

[Text] Beijing December 4 TASS—A Chinese Foreign Ministry official said on Wednesday [4 December] China respects the will of the people in Ukraine, which voted for independence in a referendum last Sunday [1 December].

He stressed, however, China will not interfere in another country's internal affairs.

In an interview with TASS, the spokesman expressed hope long-standing friendship between the Chinese and Ukrainian people will develop.

Poland, Canada Recognize Independence

OW0312182691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Monday [2 December] evening the Canadian consul in Kiev N. Gayovski handed to the President-elect Leonid Kravchuk a statement from Canada's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announcing Canada's recognition of independent Ukraine.

The Polish Government decided to establish full diplomatic relations with the Ukraine on the level of embassies. Its special envoy handed to the Ukrainian Foreign Minister J. Zlenko a note, stating that the Ukraine is recognized as an independent state.

The Ukrainian ambassador at the U N. Gennady Udovenko has said he will seek a meeting with the U.S President to inform him officially of the outcome of the Ukrainian referendum on independence.

Hungary Changes Consulate to Embassy

LD0312193191 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Trotsenko—TASS]

[Text] Kiev December 3 TASS—Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko and Hungarian charge d'affaires ad interim in the Ukraine Andras Paldi today signed a protocol on establishing diplomatic relations between the two states.

The protocol says that the sides were guided by a desire to foster their relations that have historical traditions.

They reassured that Hungary and the Ukraine will promote peace, security and stability in Europe, as well as the attainment of goals and principles of the U.N. Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris.

The sides agreed on exchanging diplomatic missions at embassy level.

On the same day a plaque on the building housing the consulate general of the Hungarian Republic in Kiev was changed to the embassy of the Hungarian Republic in the Ukraine.

It is the first embassy to be opened here after a referendum on the independence of the Ukraine.

Prime Minister Views Share of Foreign Debt

OW0312214591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2035 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to IF's [INTERFAX] sources, the Council of the republican premiers agreed in principle in Moscow Tuesday [3 December] on a mechanism of dividing the USSR's external debt among the republics. The most heated debates were caused by the division of the country's assets, specifically, the diamond reserve.

Ukrainian Premier Vitold Fokin said the Ukrainian delegation would not accept Russia's proposal to exclude the diamond reserve from the Soviet Union's gold and hard currency assets. He also voiced dissatisfaction with the fact that the number of republican representatives on the intergovernmental council of observers corresponded to each republic's share in the USSR's foreign debt (Russia is responsible for 61% of the debt).

The idea is that payments on the external debt will be made via a single authorized bank under the supervision of a specially appointed intergovernmental observer council.

The eight republics that had promised to the G-7 delegation recently to bear collective responsibility for the country's external debt suggested that only their representatives be given full-fledged membership on the council.

According to Mr. Fokin, the Ukraine will not join the foreign debt treaty if it is represented on the supervising council only as an observer. Citing from the experience of the Baltic states, the Ukrainian foreign minister indicated that his republic would not claim any share in the Soviet Union's assets, but it would not take part in the payment of its debts, either.

Cabinet Presidium Meets on Budget 2 Dec

LD0312204891 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Sydorenko]

[Excerpts] When opening the Presidium sitting, Vitold Pavlovych Fokin greeted all those present with the historic event that took place on 1 December: the confirmation of the act on state independence at the all-Ukrainian referendum. The fact that the issue of extraordinary importance—the forecast of the republican budget for the first quarter of 1992, presented by Hryhoriy Pyatachenko—was submitted to the first sitting of the Cabinet of Ministers Presidium of the independent Ukraine was quite symbolic. He stressed in his speech that such a short period of time was assumed as a basis, because the Cabinet of Ministers will get down to liberalizing prices as of the first days of the next year. This reform will be carried out without a state budget deficit. Prices will be freed for practically all goods and food except for the defined list of foods in which the most necessary ones were included: bread, milk, flour, hulled and rolled products, and a number of others. The Ukrainian Government is forced to make this move in response to the liberalization of prices in Russia and in former Union republics. [passage omitted]

The elaboration of the republican budget forecast for the first quarter of 1992 was carried out according to absolutely new principles. Expenses for social protection of the population were put in the first place in the Ukrainian state budget. Expenses for compensation to the population for price rises and indexing of monetary income from the state budget will amount to 12 billion rubles. [passage omitted]

[Begin Pyatachenko recording, in which he responds to a question on the management of state budget expenses] We did not manage to consider all the expenses because we still have a large number of undefined positions. For instance, we have considered expenses for keeping the National Guard and the border troops, but we could not yet calculate the share our free Ukraine will transfer for the defense as a whole, for the strategic one and other expenses. This concept has not been elaborate yet. [end recording]

The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers Presidium examined the Ukraine's draft laws on enterprise tax and on entering alterations and additions to the Ukrainian law on the income tax of Ukrainian citizens, foreign citizens, and people with no citizenship, as well as other draft republican laws.

Parliament May Abolish Industrial Subsidies

LD0312194691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] The session of the Ukrainian Parliament has resumed in Kiev. The standing commissions have started examining the draft forecast of the economic and social development of the republic for next year. The government presented to parliament an estimate of the republic's budget for the first quarter of 1992. The short term of the estimate is due to the uncertainty of further relations between the Ukraine and the former center and the republics of the USSR, in connection with the Ukraine's proclamation of independence. The main feature of the budget will be its lack of deficit in view of the abolition of state grants to unprofitable sectors of industry and loss-making enterprises.

Transcarpathians Vote for 'Special Status'

LD0412113991 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] As has been reported by Ivan Selmenskyy, our Transcarpathia correspondent, 92 percent voted for Ukrainian independence in multinational Transcarphia. However, a local referendum was also held in the oblast to establish the population's attitude to the following issue, I quote: Do you wish Transcarpathia to receive the special status of a self-governing territory as part of the Ukraine and to be not included in any other territorial and state formations? Of those taking part in the referendum, 78 percent voted for such a status. Now this issue on granting Transcarpathia special status will be submitted for examination by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine.

Removal of Nuclear Arms to Russia Feared

OW0112110191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Stepan Davymuka, first vice-chairman of the Lvov Regional Executive Committee, recently warned against the danger of nuclear weapons, currently located in the Ukraine, being concentrated in Russia.

Mr. Davymuka also alleged that he had information about the Union Defence Ministry's plans to remove tactical nuclear weapons from the Lvov region in the near future.

IZVESTIYA Views Romania's Claims

PM0312144391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 91 Union Edition p 7

[Article by P. Golub: "Clouds Gathering Over Helsinki Act"]

[Text] During the 16 years since the signing in Helsinki of the Final Act of the CSCE, an unabating political struggle has continued around this document. At some times we have done everything to keep quiet about the significance of the so-called "third basket," at other times other participants in the conference have raised the question of the inapplicability of the principle of noninterference in internal affairs when it was a case of human rights...

But not once has the question yet been raised of abandoning the principles of the inviolability of borders and the territorial integrity of the European states. All participants in the Helsinki process acknowledged that these principles are of a fundamental nature and are not subject to review. Today the way this question is posed is being turned into a real threat.

Report received through REUTER channels:

"The Romanian parliament has urged the government to begin talks urgently with the Ukraine on the question of the lands forfeited by Romania in favor of the Soviet Union in 1940.

"At a joint session of the two chambers, the parliamentarians adopted a declaration that announced that the results of the forthcoming referendum in the Ukraine, which should confirm the proclamation of the republic's independence from Moscow, will not have 'legal force' for the territories to which Romania lays claim.

"It is a case of the territories of Northern Bukovina, Southern Bessarabia, and the regions of Gertsa and Khotin bordering on Romania.

"'The parliament urges the Romanian Government to begin talks immediately with the Kiev authorities on the question of the Romanian territories forcibly annexed by the Soviet Union,' the declaration says."

Of course, it is a case only of preliminary talks that may end to the sides' mutual satisfaction and not lead to any real recarving of borders between the two states. But I think that the very fact this question has been raised is of fundamental importance.

If the Bucharest government formally sets before the Ukrainian representatives the problem of the return of the territories forfeited by Romania in 1940, then in our opinion a very dangerous precedent will thereby be created.

In that case who could guarantee, citing this precedent, that tomorrow all states that had altered their borders in one way or another as a result of World War II might not tomorrow begin to make claims against each other?

We are far from deliberately placing on any of our European partners the full responsibility for the possible consequences of the case which is emerging before our eyes.

The main thing that must be mentioned is that taking under control the incipient processes of territorial claims is a task that requires urgent coordinated efforts from all participants in the Helsinki process without exception, including yesterday's Union republics that are being recognized by the international community as independent states.

EC Concerned Over Recent Developments

PM0412134191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 91 Union Edition p 5

[A. Sychev article: "Independent Ukraine Changes Map of Europe"]

[Text] The appearance of a new state, the Ukraine, on the map of Europe fundamentally changes the political landscape of the continent. This gives rise to factors which, in the words of one of the diplomats arriving in Brussels for the special session of the 16 NATO members' representatives on the results of the Ukrainian referendum, "seem, taken together, to be a recipe for real catastrophe." "We are not optimistic but there is nothing we can do," he said in an interview with REUTER. "We must respect the results of free elections and the expression of the people's will."

There is also concern behind the outwardly calm tone of the declaration on the Ukraine adopted at the EC Council session. The EC foreign ministers expressed satisfaction at the democratic form of the expression of the will of the Ukraine's citizens but at the same time stressed that at a time when the Soviet Union is entering the decisive stage in its internal transformations, the representatives of the Ukraine and other republics and the center must act in such a way as to ensure that these processes develop in a peaceful, democratic, and well-ordered way. Briefly, Western Europe understands the inevitability of the changes but is more afraid that they will undermine stability on the continent.

There is no doubt, and all Western observers agree on this, that the Ukraine will receive recognition, and quite soon. The process of recognition has already begun. The first countries to do so were Poland and Canada. The remaining states will undoubtedly join them in doing so in the very near future.

However, the task which now faces all of Europe contains too many unknown factors. New players are appearing on the European political stage, realities which are still not fully understood, and dangers that are far from hypothetical are emerging, and they must be taken into account, as W. van Eekelen, secretary general of the Western European Union, pointed out at the organization's session which has opened in Paris.

The entire conventional architecture of European security and stability, whose main elements were NATO, the EC, and the Soviet Union, has been placed under threat. In Eastern Europe a state is coming into being that is larger than France in territory and has a population of 53 million and a mighty defense industry. A state with powerful nationalist feelings among the masses laying claim to the nuclear legacy of the USSR and intent on creating a national army of over 400,000.

One can also note several of the most important unknown parameters which will undoubtedly influence the appearance of the new Europe. The first is nuclear weapons and conventional armed forces.

Essentially, the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which we are urged to observe, has been violated. Not geographically—the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenals have not left their old borders. However, it must be noted, N. Gansel, the eminent German disarmament expert, warns, that if the Union treaty is not signed, a single member of the "nuclear club" will soon be replaced by several new nuclear states.

Ethnic tension, the unsettled border question (according to some figures, only 15 percent of the borders between the republics are marked), and a psychological readiness to use force in disputes, which has already been shown in the Transcaucasian and Asian republics, means, in THE DAILY TELEGRAPH's opinion, that the possibility of an insignificantly small but in all probability "nuclear civil war" in the former USSR certainly cannot be ruled out. Observers are trying to predict how far this relates to the Ukraine.

The division of the Soviet nuclear arsenal, control of which could slip from the tried and tested hands of the single center, and the formation of national armies introduce substantial adjustments to what seemed to be a well-oiled mechanism of negotiations on arms reduction in Europe and the elaboration of a system of confidence-building measures.

There is no guarantee that the all-European disarmament process, which began with such difficulty, will not wind up deadlocked because of the republics' inability to agree among themselves. Therefore, in the opinion of Maurice Gourdault-Montagne, official spokesman of the French Foreign Ministry, Paris' proposal to convene a conference of the four powers possessing nuclear weapons in Europe (the USSR, the United States, Britain, and France) "is more relevant than ever before" after the Ukrainian referendum.

The second unknown factor in the new European equation is the future of the existing contractual-legal system. Of course, it is imperfect in many ways. But it did give confidence in the stability of the situation on the continent and the possibility of regulating the emerging problems by means of dialogue. Its durability is now being tested.

In this light, the rapid acceptance of the sovereign republics into the system of existing international organizations is not the most complex question, given the experience gained with the Baltic states. However, it is not a question of an elementary arithmetical addition—plus one, two, or three states. States with still far from established national interests and, consequently, with unpredictable policy are becoming subjects of international relations.

The third parameter alarming Western Europe is that of the USSR's financial obligations. The largest republics seem to have declared their readiness to meticulously bear the burden of the Union's foreign debt, and Russia has also pledged to accept the share of those republics which refuse to take part in servicing that debt. Nevertheless, the future of the approximately $80 billion granted to the USSR seems uncertain to creditors.

Reports from the Soviet Union, I. Matthaeus-Maier, a German Social Democratic Party expert on financial questions, stated in an interview with DPA, demonstrate once more how important the question of concluding the Union treaty is. For Europe the most desirable way out of the situation is still the creation by the republics of a state community of any configuration and principles of association. Only then will it become sufficiently clear how they intend to coexist.

Europe needs substantial guarantees of the republics' observance of the Soviet Union's international commitments, respect of human and ethnic minorities' rights, and a civilized approach to the settlement of territorial disputes. Europe requires guarantees that the common European edifice built over decades will not be destroyed. But can we give those guarantees and, if so, are those guarantees credible? Clearly, for some time in the new conditions, Europe will mainly have to rely on itself and its own political and economic weight as a guarantor of stability on the continent.

Republic To Invite Nuclear Power Experts

OW0312224091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukraine will invite foreign experts to participate in analyzing whether or not the nuclear power plants located on their territory should continue to operate. The chairman of the parliamentary commission on issues relating to the Chernobyl disaster, Vladimir Yavorivsky, announced this at a press conference in Kiev. In his opinion, this problem has arisen since all of the nuclear power plants on Ukrainian territory were built by the central atomic department, and are not up to contemporary operation standards.

Republic To Convert Rocket Production Facility

LD0312055491 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1841 GMT 2 Dec 91

["Military News" feature]

[Text] The Ukraine Government and Defense Ministry are going to convert the Dnepropetrovsk research and production association "Yuzhnoye" which currently makes rocket and space devices for the production of trolley buses and airbuses AN-218.

The reason for that lies in the fact of the stopped financing from the budget of the Yuzhnoye Association by the former USSR General Machine-Building Ministry. The Yuzhnoye Association was the largest maker of the rocket and space devices, but it turned out that the deep-shaft based RS-20 rockets which were produced by the association are not suitable for delivery to the regions of their positioning for the purposes of the military duty, whereas production of Zenit rocket-carrier became profit-losing because the Ukraine does not have a space rocket starting lot of its own.

Radio Pledges To Break 'Information Blockade'

PM2911144991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

[Correspondent S. Tsikora report: "Radio Liberty in a Free Ukraine"]

[Text] Radio Liberty is opening a Ukrainian program bureau in Kiev. The republic's authorities have agreed to this in principle, and the implementation of the necessary formalities is now coming to an end. Let me note, incidentally, that today Radio Liberty already broadcasts to the Ukraine on six wavebands for more than 50 hours daily.

The sensation was not, however, the fact that the authorities have authorized official activity in the Ukraine by a radio station the Communists always considered a "hostile voice," but rather the statement made by Roman Kupchinskiy, the new boss of Liberty's Ukrainian editorial office. He told Kiev journalists that, apart from assisting the nascent Ukrainian power in various ways, Radio Liberty is pledging to break the information blockade in which the Ukraine currently finds itself.

Right now the latter issue is a particularly sore point for the republic. At present the Ukraine cannot avail itself of direct contact with world information sources, and therefore everything that takes place here reaches the world's readers and television viewers through intermediaries, most often in the form of Soviet Central Television and Union newspapers. And in the past their view and appraisal of events in the Ukraine have led to minor conflicts. Now, however, with the republic having proclaimed its independence and the center persisting in its attempts to establish a new Union, open confrontation between central and republic mass media has developed in the information sphere.

But nevertheless, today's main "firing line" of confrontation runs through the central and republic television channels. The tendentious way in which film clips are shown on Central Television aims to distort the essence of what is happening in the Ukraine, some people here believe, and this has inflamed the situation so much that L. Kravchuk, head of the republic's Supreme Soviet, has been forced to get involved in events. He demanded the right to speak on Central Television and, during his speech, informed television viewers that this sort of "coverage" of events just before the Ukrainian referendum is perceived in the republic as a device to inflame anti-Ukrainian feelings and an attempt to embroil Russia and the Ukraine in a quarrel. It is possible that this speech by the head of parliament might have achieved its main aim—to ease tension and clarify for millions of people the Ukraine's position on complex political issues. But at the end of L. Kravchuk's interview somebody deemed it necessary to provide a commentary by a Central Television journalist which was taken here to be unceremonious and insulting in view of its didactic tone when applied to the head of an independent state.

So what is Radio Liberty offering? Here is Ukrainian program boss Roman Kupchinskiy's answer to this question, which was published in a republic newspaper.

"I want our station to become a tool for building Ukrainian power. Our role is to help integrate the Ukraine into Western Europe and the world market. And little by little we are already doing this. Recently we started the 'World Newsbeat' program—every morning we offer five-minute news slots from the world's main exchanges. What is happening in Tokyo and New York. With the passage of time, people will realize that the Ukraine is part of the world economy. There is another aspect to this: If a listener from the Donbass or the south of the republic hears business news in Ukrainian, news that he can no longer get anywhere else, he will gradually get used to this language and to business discourse in it. Nascent business—this prime mover of the Ukraine's economic revival—must have an intimate knowledge of the world market. Radio Liberty must lead the Ukraine out of its isolation."

Donbass Coal Production Cut 'Drastically'

OW0212011091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2152 GMT 1 Dec 91

[From 2 December "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Coal production at many of the mines in the Donbass coalfields has come to a standstill or been drastically cut back. According to Mr. Valentin Pudak, technical director of Donetskugol, this has happened because the Donbass is at present getting only a quarter of the prop timber it requires from Russia.

Union Leader Opposes Coal Development Plan

OW0312013791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Konstantin Fisenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of the Union of Coal-Industry Workers and ex-leader of the miners' strike movement in Donbass, told IF [INTERFAX] that he was seriously concerned about the current situation in the Ukraine's coal industry and about prospects for its development.

Only coal can ensure the Ukraine's energy security, he said. However, the government-proposed concept for developing this branch is unrealistic, he noted. In the Ukraine, like in all other European states except Britain, coal industry is state-run. However, at the moment, the republic has not the 45 billion roubles the industry needs. In view of this, the government intends to introduce high regional wholesale prices. What is regional prices in the current setting? It is different prices on coal of about the same quality mined by neighbouring amalgamations. The difference is expected to reach 300 roubles for a tonne. To ensure that the expensive coal be bought, the government intends to introduce quotas—in other words, to force the consumer to buy more expensive varieties of coal besides cheap ones.

Mr. Fisenko said that Soviet and foreign experts have found such a concept erroneous. No country would give any loans to back this programme, said Mr. Fisenko. Meanwhile, without them, coal mines will fail to stand firmly on their feet and ensure normal economic development of the Ukraine, he said.

Plans To Amend Kiev National Policy Viewed

AU0412080391 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 33, November 91 p 3

[Article by Yu.O. Olenenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers Nationalities Committee: "Without Column Five"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers recently decided to create a Committee for Nationalities Affairs. In view of the interest shown by our readers, our correspondent turned to committee Chairman Yu.O. Olenenko with a request to tell about the situation in the interethnic sphere, about the tasks of the newly created committee, and its first steps.

As you know, the Ukraine is a multinational state. Apart from the Ukrainians, representatives of 110 nationalities live here, and this constitutes 27.3 percent of the Ukrainian population. Even during the bitter times, we managed to avoid interethnic strife and lived in peace and accord. Today, it is, perhaps, the most important task to maintain peace among the citizens representing different nationalities. I am saying this because even today there have been attempts in some oblasts to cast doubt on the republic's Act of Independence and to set the Russian-speaking population against the establishment of Ukrainian statehood. Do the facts about blocking the fulfillment of the Ukrainian law on languages and suspending the publication of Ukrainian-language newspapers under the pretext of their being unprofitable contribute to interethnic peace? The territorial claims upon the Ukraine that are being voiced outside its borders and the attempts to stir up separatist moods in the Crimea must also be regarded in this context. We have already seen with the recent hotbeds of national conflicts where this may lead. Have we learned nothing from them?

It must be pointed out that the policy of spiritual oppression of peoples that was conducted during previous years has resulted in serious deformations and distortions in these people's national life. The handwheel of the totalitarian system (it was, probably, particularly strong in the Ukraine) destroyed everything that did not fit the procrustean bed of the concepts of the single Soviet nation: the national languages, cultures, traditions, everyday life, trades, and so on. As a result of this, quite a number of acute problems have accumulated in the nationalities sphere and they need to be resolved without delay.

What are these problems? They may be conditionally divided into two groups: socioeconomic and national-cultural. With regard to the Ukraine, I would, for known reasons, put a particular emphasis upon the problems of national-cultural development. National education is the key problem. Here is just one characteristic: Representatives of 110 nationalities reside in the republic, but only 15 national languages are taught at schools. Therefore, the available network of educational institutions does not conform to the national composition and needs of the population. It is the constitutional right of citizens to teach their children in their own languages, and we must guarantee this right.

Take the process of the development of literature and art, the mass media and mass culture, activity involving theater and concerts, as well as creative work done by amateurs. They are also an integral part of the national foundation and must, therefore, correspond to the spiritual needs of the Ukraine's multinational population. Urgent practical steps must be made in order to create national theaters, art collectives, and a publishing house for issuing literature in national languages, to organize radio broadcasts in the languages of ethnic groups, to train the relevant personnel, and so on.

No less acute are the questions of conditions for the activity of national-cultural societies, the broad network of which has emerged in the wave of national revival. I mean giving them facilities, means of communication, financial subsidies, exempting them from paying taxes on their commercial enterprises, and so on.

All of this is only a cursory list of those problems that exist in the national sphere. However, even this list gives an idea of their acuteness and character.

The most favorable conditions for resolving national-cultural problems are now being created in the republic. It would be no exaggeration to say that with the declaration of Ukrainian independence, a new era in interethnic relations is opening up. The republic's Supreme Council Presidium has taken upon itself the duty to prevent the violation of the rights of any nationalities. They have all been guaranteed equal political, economic, and social rights, as well as full freedom for the development of their national languages and cultures. The main tasks of the Committee for Nationalities Affairs are, therefore, as follows:

—the carrying out of a coordinated state policy in the sphere of national and interethnic relations, participation in the preparation of bills on national issues, and control being exercised over the fulfillment of the current legislation in this sphere;

—the creation of conditions for satisfying the sociocultural and spiritual needs of national minorities and the restoration and development of their languages, cultures, and traditions;

—the training of national cadres and representation of them in state organs and public organizations and in the management of various branches of the national economy and culture;

—the contribution to satisfying national and spiritual interests of Ukrainians residing outside the republic.

Thus, generally speaking, we see our mission, first, in the efforts to gather all the problems that exist in the sphere of national relations, to comprehend them in depth, and to prepare proposals for resolving them, which the republic's government must take upon itself. Second, we must carefully study the processes that take place within the national groups of the population and the needs of these groups in the area of language and traditions, and, again, recommend ways for satisfying them.

Now, concerning the committee's first practical steps. So far, they are quite modest. However, we took part in the elaboration of the Ukrainian draft law on the rights of national minorities; we prepared a draft declaration on the nationalities rights that we intend to propose to the Ukrainian Supreme Council for consideration. Preparations are under way for the first congress of Ukrainians living outside the republic.

Proceeding from the results of the meeting between L.M. Kravchuk, the Ukrainian Supreme Council chairman, and the leaders of national-cultural societies, recommendations have been prepared by corresponding ministries and departments. In particular, these recommendations deal with the development of national schools, broadcasting in national languages, and the improvement of material and technical conditions for the activity of cultural associations.

I would like to say a few words separately about the Center for National Cultures. The committee's proposal on its creation in Kiev was supported by the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers. The activity of the future center will be aimed at the elaboration and implementation of special programs for creative, material, and organizational support of measures for the development of the language, culture, and traditions of the national groups among the population. The center will promote work aimed at strengthening and developing cultural ties with compatriots living outside the Ukraine.

There is yet another step made by the committee that, I believe, will be assessed positively by the representatives of all nationalities. As you know, the conditions of life under the totalitarian system placed representatives of many nationalities under such conditions that they were compelled to change their nationality and their native surnames and first names. Now that under the conditions of sovereign Ukraine the possibility has emerged to restore national justice, "The Statute on the USSR Identity Card System" has become an obstacle. Therefore, taking into account the wishes of the national-cultural societies, we turned to the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers with a proposal to authorize the Civil Registry Office organs and registration offices of RVVS [not further identified] to change, in accordance with the desire of the applicants, the information on their nationality in their identity cards or to restore their native surnames and first names even before a new "Statute on the Ukrainian Identity Card System" is adopted.

The committee has a number of other interesting plans that are presently in the stage of discussion and profound analysis. In short, we understand the existing problems of national minorities and want to resolve them.

Armenia

Republic Ready For New Talks With Azerbaijan

LD0412001891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Armenia is ready for a new meeting with Azerbaijan by the end of this week, with observers from Russia and Kazakhstan acting as mediators. This has been reported by the SNARK Agency. Describing the situation in NKAO [Nagorna-Karabaka Autonomous Oblast] the agency notes that flour stocks in Stepanakert have run out. It is extremely difficult to obtain information from NKAO because telephone connections between NKAO and outer world have been broken for over a week. Helicopters do not fly because of bad weather conditions.

Supreme Soviet Adopts Law on Military Service

PM0412113991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 91 p 1

[Untitled report from PRAVDA, TASS, INTERFAX, and SNARK "Pulse of the Day" column]

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet has adopted a law on compulsory military service. Henceforth Armenian draftees will only join Soviet Army and border forces' subunits stationed on the territory of the republic. Only those young men who express a wish to do so will serve outside it. The law provides for alternative service in the Ministry of Internal Affairs system and at important national economic facilities.

Military Service Reduced to 18 Months

NC0312190391 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 3 Dec (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian Supreme Soviet continued its deliberations on 2 December. [passage omitted]

Chairperson Ara Saakyan informed the session that the president had expressed reservation on the period of military service stipulated in the law on military service. After hearing the conclusion of the Supreme Soviet's Standing Commission on Defense and Internal Affairs, the deputies voted to accept the president's suggestion to reduce the military service period from 24 to 18 months by introducing relevant changes in Article 13 of the law. [passage omitted]

Security Official on Reaction to Aggression

OW0112094691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Reaction to any acts of aggression against Armenia will be sufficient to ensure security and territorial integrity for the republic, said Vagan Avakyan, deputy chief adviser on national security. He expressed concern over the development of events in Nagorno-Karabakh. According to him, Armenia is well aware of the defence potential of self-defence units in Artsakh (the Armenian name for Nagorno-Karabakh: IF [INTERFAX]), and it has reasons to believe that the enemy will meet with sufficient rebuff there too.

Oktemberyanskiy Rayon Renamed Armavir

NC2911185391 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 29 Nov (ARMENPRES)—HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN reports that the Oktemberyanskiy Rayon Soviet has decided with majority votes to rename Oktemberyanskiy as Armavir.

Various names had been put forward, but a public opinion poll indicated that the majority of the population favors Armavir.

Azerbaijan

Security Chief Cited on Helicopter Crash

OW0312221091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2035 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Yerevan-based news agency NOYAN TAPAN has reported that Vadim Bakatin, head of the Inter-republican Security Committee, told the latest meeting of the USSR State Council that the casing of the MI-8 helicopter that had crashed on November 20 near the border between Azerbaijan's Agdam district and Nagorno-Karabakh displayed holes from bullets fired from within.

When IF's [INTERFAX's] reporter asked Mr. Bakatin to comment on the report, the latter denied having ever made statements to that effect. He said the experts investigating the crash's circumstances had reported finding in the helicopter's casing a number of bullet and other holes. Some of them were on the inner side of the helicopter. There were some holes resembling those resulting from fire shots but actually being of a non-bullet origin, and there were holes that had appeared at the moment of the crash. Mr. Bakatin reiterated in this connection that "it is too early to draw any conclusions on the causes of the helicopter catastrophe."

Mayor Comments on Trade Relations With Iran

OW0312234691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2035 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Yerevan's Mayor Ambardzam Galstyan has stated upon return from Iran that within the next one or two years Iran may become "the closest" trade partner of Armenia.

He said the two sides had reached preliminary agreement to settle in rubles and rials (Iranian monetary unit) and not in hard currency.

Pakistani Delegation Visit Reported

NC0412050691 Baku Radio Baku International Service in Persian 1200 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Today is the last day of a Pakistani delegation's visit to our country. The delegation, led by Sardar Asif Ali, state minister of economic affairs, met with President Ayaz Mutalibov. During the meeting, Asif Ali expressed his country's willingness to cooperate with Azerbaijan in this difficult time and assured him assistance in all economic, domestic, and (?religious) fields. He said that the Pakistani Government will help Azerbaijan if it wishes to become a member of the United Nations and assured the Azerbianjani president that Pakistan completely supports the Azerbaijani leader's stance on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue.

Sardar Asif Ali gave an official document on behalf of his government to Mutalibov which documented the gift of 500 tonnes of rice for Azerbaijan. The delegation also visited a construction factory, ministries, and organizations and held talks on mutual cooperation.

Pakistan Signs Mutual Understanding Accord

LD0312123591 Baku Radio Baku Network in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Excerpts] As a result of a visit by a delegation of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to Baku, a joint memorandum on mutual understanding has been signed. This intergovernmental document, of historical importance to both sides, has been signed in [words indistinct]. On the Azerbaijani side, the memorandum was signed by G. Gasanov, prime minister of the Azerbaijan Republic, and by Sardar Asif Ali, state minister of economic affairs, on the Pakistani side.

Subsequently, by way of supplementing the memorandum, two more documents were signed here: an agreement on cooperation between the Azerbaijani Institute of National Economy Management, the Baku Institute of Social Management and Political Science, and the Lahore Management and Political Science Institute. [passage omitted]

Following the signing ceremony for the bilateral, intergovernmental documents, Gasanov and Sardar Asif gave a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists. The signing of the memorandum on mutual understanding, noted Gasanov, is seen by us as an important step, which may be followed by a recognition of Azerbaijan's independence as a state. We are at the very beginning of the road toward [word indistinct] and we hope that the goodwill of both peoples will help us (?traverse) this path.

For his part, Sardar Asif expressed confidence that Pakistan would officially recognize Azerbaijan's independence. It is most likely to take place during the forthcoming visit of Ayaz Mutalibov to Pakistan at the invitation of Nawaz Sharif, the prime minister. He noted that Gasanov had already received such an invitation. Gasanov and Sardar Asif replied to numerous questions from journalists.

Prime Minister Praises Turkish Recognition

NC2511111391 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 20 Nor 91 p 12

[By Ramiz Asker: "A Message From Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov"]

[Text] Baku (HURRIYET)—Azerbaijan's Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov has said that he greatly welcomes Turkish recognition of Azerbaijan's independence and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. He added, however, that the Azerbaijanis are concerned by the approach maintained by the other Islamic countries. In a statement to HURRIYET, Gasanov said that the Azerbaijanis were grieved by the failure of Iran, Pakistan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia to recognize their independence, saying: "Turkey is the only country we trust."

Gasanov also said that although strong moral ties exist between Turkey and Azerbaijan, their economic and political relations have not reached a satisfactory level. "Turkey is the only country which supports us and our cause. Turkey will begin to supply 500,000 tons of wheat to Azerbaijan as of December. Contrary to the situation of the other former USSR republics, we will not be hungry this winter," Gasanov said.

Replying to a question as to whether they expect a change in Turkey's policy toward Azerbaijan as a result of the change of government in Turkey, Gasanov said: "Governments may change in Turkey, but the frateral feelings cherished by that country and its people will not change."

Noting that more than 20 partnerships have been established between Turkish and Azerbaijani firms to date, Gasanov stressed that he will make every effort to increase joint ventures.

We Will Not Pay the USSR's Debts

Gasanov said that his republic has not agreed to contribute toward the payment of USSR's debts. Noting that Azerbaijan has rejected the Kremlin's request that Azerbaijan pay $1.6 billion of the Soviet Union's foreign debts, Gasanov said: "We will not pay the USSR's debts. We owe them nothing. On the contrary, they owe us. They robbed us for 74 years. That is enough."

Nakhichevan Leader Seeks Support From Turkey

TA0312171491 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1550 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Nakhichevan (A.A)—Gaydar Aliyev, president of the Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan, said to AA correspondent here on 3 December that like Ataturk

(Mustafa Kemal Ataturk the founder of the Turkish Republic), it is necessary to help all Turkish peoples."

Aliyev said he had political differences with Mikhail Gorbachev and criticised Gorbachev's policies towards Turkish and Moslem republics. He expressed gratitude for the second party of help of food stuffs Turkey extended to Nakhichevan through its Red Crescent organization and said the U.S. and France protected the Armenians and they had no one but Turkey to cling to after Azerbaijan declared its independence from Moscow. "Unless Turkey helps us, we have to throw ourselves into the river," he said. He also criticised Gorbachev's policies aimed at establishing a union among the Soviet republics which obtained their independence.

"Despite his pledges Gorbachev keeps creating difficulties for the republics. He will never succeed in gathering the Soviet republics around a unit," he said.

'No Positive Changes' in Nagorno-Karabakh

LD0412035891 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has undergone no positive changes over the past 24 hours, according to the Operational Group of USSR Interior Ministry troops.

The regional centre of Stepanakert and the nearby populated area of Shusha, where the Azerbaijani population is concentrated, fought a missile duel. The two sides fired several dozen Alazan missiles. According to existing data, one person was killed and ten wounded and 25 buildings were burned down or destroyed. Stepanakert still lacks break, water and heating.

Villagers To Return to Nagorno-Karabakh

NC0312184391 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Yerevan, 3 Dec (ARMENPRES)—YERKIR reports that, following brilliant operations carried out by the freedom fighters, Azerbaijanis began leaving Gadrutskiy Rayon between 28-30 November. The villages of Arakyul, Dolanlar, and Dilan have been completely evacuated. If the flow continues at the same pace, Armenians will be able to return to their homes by the end of this week. [passage omitted]

Air Defense Brigade Refuses To Surrender Arms

PM0312155591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 91 First Edition p 3

[Major A. Ivanov report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "From the Air Defense Troops: Attempt To Disarm Unit Failed"]

[Text] On 30 November a group of armed men headed by Colonel D. Rzayev, Azerbaijan deputy defense minister, and Azerbaijan People's Deputy R. Akhmedov arrived at an Air Defense Troops antiaircraft missile brigade stationed in the republic. Colonel A. Bokarev, the unit commander, was handed a written instruction from the republic's Defense Ministry to immediately hand over all the unit's firearms and munitions to the ministry's representatives there.

After a categorical refusal to submit to this instruction, all kinds of threats were issued to the soldiers. The brigade commander replied that in the event of an attempt to seize weapons or take hostages the military would be forced to use all measures for their own defense.

Recently a number of air defense units and subunits have been subjected to bandit attacks and robbery in Azerbaijan. Hundreds of weapons and items of equipment have been stolen or taken by force, and servicemen and their families have been subjected to insults. Many officers and non-commissioned officiers fear for the fate of their relatives and friends and have been forced to send them outside the region. It is one thing when such threats are made by extremist armed groups, quite another when this is done by high-ranking statesmen.

New Presidency Affairs Administration Set Up

NC2911075891 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] President Mutalibov has issued a decree establishing an administration for presidency affairs. The administration is made up of departments for mail and issues concerning citizens, finance, protocol, economics, and others. The rules and regulations, structure, and final composition of the administration have been approved.

In accordance with President Mutalibov's decree, Mikhael Aziz ogly Nazarov has been appointed head of the administration for presidency affairs, and T. Ibragim ogly Musayev has been appointed as the republic's military commissar.

Georgia

Republic To Start Talks on Troop Withdrawal

LD0312211791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1940 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 3 Dec (GEORGIAN NATIONAL INFORMATION AGENCY - TASS)—By a decision of today's session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, the republic's Cabinet of Ministers has been instructed to start talks with the appropriate bodies of state power in the USSR on the withdrawal from the territory of Georgia of units of the Soviet Army, border and internal troops, and naval forces. Before the complete withdrawal of these elements, it has been decided to subordinate them to the overall jurisdiction of Georgia.

Leader's Decree Annuls S. Ossetian Decisions

AU0412113991

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian at 1405 GMT on 3 December carries the text of a decree issued by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia, on the situation in Shida Kartli, the area of Georgia into which South Ossetia has been reincorporated under its historical name of Samachablo by the Georgian Government.

The first part of the decree states that "Ossetian extremists who have usurped power in Shida Kartli with the support of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, MVD, internal troops and the Soviet Army are continuing their anti-constitutional and anti-state activities through which they are blatantly trying to violate Georgia's territorial integrity and restrict the sovereign rights of the Republic of Georgia."

The decree then refers to the decisions adopted at the session of the supreme council of "so-called South Ossetia" on 26 November, including "confirmation of the decision to become a part of Russia that had been adopted earlier, the introduction of a state of emergency, the declaration of general mobilization, the formation of guards...."

The decree continues that "the presence of USSR MVD Internal Troops and Soviet Army units on the territory of Shida Kartli has no (?legal) basis" and their "hostile activities directed against the Republic of Georgia" represent "one of the main factors for destabilization in this region.

"With the goal of defending the sovereignty of the Republic of Georgia and the country's security and territorial integrity, on the basis of Paragraph 2 of Articles 121-4 of the Constitution of the Republic of Georgia, I decree that:

"1. The decisions of the anti-constitutional and anti-state organ, the supreme council of the so-called Republic of South Ossetia, adopted on 26 November 1991 be recognized as invalid and having no legal force.

"2. The Republic of Georgia's Procurator's Office is to take measures envisaged by the law against those persons who have created an anti-state organization in Shida Kartli whose aim is to restrict the sovereign rights of the Republic of Georgia and take away from the Republic of Georgia a part of its territory.

"3. The question be raised before the appropriate organs of USSR state power of the immediate withdrawal from the territory of the Republic of Georgia of the units of USSR MVD Internal Troops and the Soviet Army located on the territory of Shida Kartli."

Gamsakhurdia: 'No Room' for Opposition

OW0312182291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has said that "in Georgia there is no room for opposition, and so let it get out and join those on whose payroll it is".

Addressing Monday's [2 December] meeting outside the government building in Tbilisi, the president urged the Georgians to "rally round the lawfully-elected government in these hard times, and stick to the road toward independence".

The same day the local opposition also held a meeting in Tbilisi. Speakers supported Georgia's drive for independence, but stressed that the present authorities led by Z. Gamsakhurdia are incapable of giving Georgia what it seeks.

Spokesmen for Georgia's National Democratic party declared that if the trial of the party's arrested leader Georgiy Chanturia scheduled for December 3 is postponed once again, they'll resort to actions of protest.

President Amends Law on Cabinet of Ministers

AU2511141691 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 2 Nov 91 p 3

[Republic of Georgia Law on the Introduction of Changes to the Republic of Georgia Law "on the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers" issued in Tbilisi on 30 October]

[Text] The Republic of Georgia Supreme Council resolves:

To introduce the following changes to the Republic of Georgia Law "on the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers" of 27 August 1991:

1. Part two of Article 9 is to be reworded in the following manner:

"The Republic of Georgia Supreme Council has the right to make each cabinet member and committee or department chief accountable for his performance. In the event of an unsatisfactory assessment of the work of a cabinet member, the question can be raised concerning the expediency of his release from the post that he holds."

2. Part three of Article 21 is to be reworded in the following manner:

"The president of the Republic of Georgia is, on recommendation from the Cabinet of Ministers, to appoint or release from their duties committee and department chiefs in agreement with the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council."

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Dated] 30 October 1991

Reportage Notes New Political Appointments

New Chairmen of Permanent Commissions

AU2211160491 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 5 Nov 91 p 1

[Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolutions on the resignation of the chairman of the Supreme Council Permanent Commission for Internal Relations and the appointment of his replacement; on the dismissal of the chairman of the Supreme Council Permanent Commission for the Protection of Human Rights and the appointment of his replacement; and on the appointment of the chairman of the Supreme Council Permanent Juridical Commission, issued in Tbilisi on 1 November]

[Text] Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution on the Resignation of T.Sh. Paatashvili From his Post as Chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for Internal Relations

The Republic of Georgia Supreme Council resolves:

To grant the request of Tedo Shalvovich Paatashvili to resign from his post as chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for Internal Relations.

Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution on the Election of M.M. Tushmalishvili as chairwoman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for Internal Relations

The Republic of Georgia Supreme Council resolves:

To elect Medeya Mirianovna Tushmalishvili as chairwoman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for Internal Relations.

Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution on the Release of A.P. Imnadze From His Post as Chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for the Protection of Human Rights

The Republic of Georgia Supreme Council resolves:

To release Avtandil Prokofyevich Imnadze from his post as chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for the Protection of Human Rights.

Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution on the Election of Z.D. Kobaliya as Chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for the Protection of Human Rights

The Republic of Georgia Supreme Council resolves:

To elect Zaur Davidovich Kobaliya as chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for the Protection of Human Rights.

Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution on the Election of K.A. Pirtsalava as Chairman of the Republic of Georgia Permanent Juridical Commission

The Republic of Georgia Supreme Council resolves:

To elect Konstantine Alekseyevich Pirtskhalava as chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Juridical Commission.

[Signed] Nemo Burchuladze, deputy chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council

[Date] Tbilisi, 1 November 1991

New Defense Minister

AU2211160891 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 5 Nov 91 p 1

[Correction to the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution of 31 October 1991 on the Appointment of D.M. Pirtskhalaishvili as Republic of Georgia Deputy Minister of Defense]

[Text] A mistake has been made in the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council resolution of 31 October 1991 on the appointment of D.M. Pirtskhalaishvili transmitted through the channels of SAKINFORM. It should read as follows:

Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution on the Appointment of D.M. Pirtskhalaishvili as Republic of Georgia minister of defense.

The Republic of Georgia Supreme Council resolves:

To give its consent to the president of the Republic of Georgia to appoint Dzhonni Mikhailovich Pirtskhalaishvili as Republic of Georgia minister of defense.

[Signed] Nemo Burchuladze, deputy chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council

[Dated] 31 October 1991

Defense Ministry Chiefs

AU2211161691 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 15 Nov 91 p 1

[Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Appointment of Officials of the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Defense issued in Tbilisi on 29 October]

[Text] To appoint the following persons to the following posts in the Ministry of Defense:

1. Colonel Shota Mikhailovich Banadze—chief of the Combat Training Directorate.

2. Major General Panteleymon Ivanovich Giorgadze—chief of the Border Troops' Directorate.

3. Captain First Rank Aleksandr Davidovich Dzhavakhishvili—chief of the Naval Forces Directorate.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Dated] 29 October 1991

New Military Commander of Tbilisi

AU2211160691 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 5 Nov 91 p 1

[Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Appointment of R.L. Gventsadze as Military Commander of the City of Tbilisi issued in Tbilisi on 2 November]

[Text] To appoint Colonel Roman Levanovich Gventsadze, first deputy minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Georgia, as military commander of the city of Tbilisi.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Dated] Tbilisi, 2 November 1991

New Acting Deputy Prime Minister

AU2211161491 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 9 Nov 91 p 1

[Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Appointment of E.Ye. Nizharadze as Acting Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Georgia issued in Tbilisi on 9 November]

[Text] To appoint Enver Yefremovich Nizharadze as acting deputy prime minister of the Republic of Georgia.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Dated] 9 November 1991

Enver Yefremovich Nizharadze

A writer, born in 1946 in the village of Lentekhi in Lentekhi Rayon.

In 1977 he graduated from the philology faculty of Tbilisi State University with a speciality in Georgian language and literature.

At various times, he worked in the editorial offices of the journal TSISKARI and the literary publication GANTIADI, on the Georgian TV and Radio Committee, and in the Georgian Union of Writers. In 1982-88 he was editor-in-chief of the journal DILA.

Since 1988 he has been secretary of the Georgian Union of Writers.

He is married with two sons.

Internal Affairs Adviser

AU2211161091 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 5 Nov 91 p 1

[Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Appointment of N.A. Molodinashvili as Advisor to the President of the Republic of Georgia issued in Tbilisi on 1 November]

[Text] To appoint Nugzar Archilovich Molodinashvili as advisor to the president of the Republic of Georgia on internal political questions.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Dated] Tbilisi, 1 November 1991

State Control Committee Chairman

AU2211161891 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 12 Nov 91 p 1

[Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Appointment of A.G. Rekhviashvili as Chairman of the Republic of Georgia State Control Committee issued in Tbilisi on 9 November]

[Text] To appoint Akakiy Grigoryevich Rekhviashvili as chairman of the Republic of Georgia State Control Committee.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Dated] 9 November 1991

Parliament Suspends Law on Political Parties

AU2211162091 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 2 Nov 91 p 3

[Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution on the Temporary Suspension of the Republic of Georgia Law "on Political Associations of Citizens" issued in Tbilisi on 1 November]

[Text] On the basis of a request from the Republic of Georgia Procurator's Office, the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council resolves:

To temporarily suspend the Republic of Georgia Law of 10 August 1991 "on Political Associations of Citizens."

[Signed] Nemo Burchuladze, deputy chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council

[Dated] Tbilisi, 1 November 1991

Supreme Council Gives Privileges to President

AU2511140991 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 2 Nov 91 p 3

[Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution on Ensuring the Activities and on the Services and Security of the President of the Republic of Georgia issued in Tbilisi on 1 November]

[Text] In order that the president of the Republic of Georgia can exercise his powers effectively, the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council has resolved:

1. To determine the state material maintenance and services to the president of the Republic of Georgia as follows:

a monthly salary of 4,000 rubles [R];

an official apartment in Tbilisi and two country homes for the period that he occupies the post of president of the Republic of Georgia;

a specially equipped airplane and helicopter;

armored special purpose motor transport;

security that will be the responsibility of the presidential guard;

while in the country or abroad expenses on representation are to be paid within the limits of generally recognized international norms from the Republic of Georgia state budget;

2. The presidential guard is to guarantee the security and transportation of the wife and family of the president of the Republic of Georgia;

3. On his retirement, the president of the Republic of Georgia is:

to receive a monthly pension of R2,400;

to be allocated a country home with the necessary services, guards, and transportation;

4. The Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers is to make provision for a special article in the Republic of Georgia state budget concerning the financing of the activities of the president of the Republic of Georgia that is to take effect from 1991.

[Signed] Nemo Burchuladze, deputy chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council

[Dated] 1 November 1991.

Minister Denies Jan Price Liberalization

OW0312004691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with IF [INTERFAX], Chief of the Georgian Finance Ministry's Pricing Department, Mr. Iveri Salamberidze, refuted reports alleging that on January 1 prices would be released in Georgia.

Of course, price liberalisation will occur, said Mr. Salamberidze. However, the date has not been fixed yet. Much will depend on Russia and other republic, he said, because Georgia will have to take "return measures".

Anyway, prices on bread and some other products will remain stable, he said.

Bank President on Monetary Policy

AU0212091691 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 20 Nov 91 p 1

[Interview with Giya Topuriya, president of the Republic of Georgia National Bank, by SAKINFORM correspondent Tengiz Chkhikvadze; place and date not given: Banks, Money, and Us...."]

[Text] **In connection with the fact that there is a constant delay in the payment of wages and pensions, SAKINFORM correspondent Tengiz Chkhikvadze met Giya Topuriya, president of the Republic of Georgia National Bank and asked him to answer questions directly related to the shortage of bank notes.**

[Chkhikvadze] Giya, what can you say about the situation in the state establishment that has been entrusted to you?

[Topuriya] The National Bank is a kind of yardstick by which we can gauge our state's economy. It is no secret that the volume of goods produced in Georgia and output growth rates have considerably declined. The shortage of food products and industrial goods have led to an increase in prices. Furthermore, the law on the republic's banks adopted by parliament as early as in August has virtually remained unimplemented because of a certain, to put it mildly, lack of organization and passivity on the part of the heads of our banks. If we add to this the problem of the acute shortage of bank notes, it becomes clear that the National Bank is going through difficult times. **[Chkhikvadze] What action do you intend to take given the current situation?**

[Topuriya] The National Bank has to deal with the questions of emission and the coordination of the activities of all the banks in the republic. This is its task. With the aim of improving banking operations and increasing our authority both at the interrepublican and international level, we will form in the near future a special group that will be directly concerned with creating a Georgian currency. Services concerned with forecasting and analysis, securities and foreign ties, and hard currency operations will soon come into operation, services without which the activities of any bank are unthinkable. **[Chkhikvadze] Do you currently have ties with the USSR State Bank?**

[Topuriya] Yes. In 1991 there was a sharp reduction in the emission of money from the center. This, in its turn, has created a shortage of bank notes. The USSR State

Bank has proposed to the republics that a coordinating banking council be set up. However, in accordance with the rules of this organization, the rights of the council's members will as before be diminished, and the Union State Bank, judging by everything, will again assume the role of leader and preceptor. We do not agree with this. The center's position is at variance with the law on banks currently in force in the republic. **[Chkhikvadze] What can you say about the introduction of a Georgian currency?**

[Topuriya] It is well known that the introduction of our own money would be a weighty step on the path toward real economic and political independence for the republic. However, in order to achieve this task, we need right from the start to support Georgian currency with the corresponding amount of gold, industrial goods, and food products. As regards gold, I will tell you that the republic currently has a certain amount of it. It can be accumulated through the exploitation on a scientific basis of certain deposits of valuable minerals, for example, copper ore that contains this precious metal. It is wholly realistic for us to obtain our share of gold from the USSR gold fund. Fundamental changes have to be made in the banking system itself in connection with the scale and exchange rate of this currency in relation to other convertible currencies in the world. All this will be facilitated by the stage-by-stage privatization of enterprises, the services' and housing sectors, and others. Negotiations are already in progress on the printing of Georgian money. **[Chkhikvadze] How will the introduction of Russian money affect Georgia?**

[Topuriya] I think that the economic problems in Russia are more acute than in our republic. Therefore, the creation of their own currency is a matter of necessity for the Russians. As far as our economy is concerned, the creation of the latter will create additional difficulties. The point is that its creation will complicate relations between Russia and both Georgia and the remaining former republics of the USSR. **[Chkhikvadze] What contacts abroad does the Republic of Georgia National Bank have?**

[Topuriya] We already have business proposals from banks in Germany, Belgium, Italy, France, and England. Georgia represents for them not only a new sales market but also a point linking the European and Near Eastern countries with the states of Eastern Asia. It is known that something similar used to exist when the caravan routes passed through our land. This is why I view the prospects as being hopeful. **[Chkhikvadze] Do you think that, given the current shortage of bank notes, the republic's citizens should invest their money in savings banks?**

[Topuriya] Money is flowing intensively out of savings banks today. People want to have their money in cash. On the one hand, this is understandable and even justifiable. However, if monetary reform takes place, only investors' money will be exchanged without any loss. This can be explained by the fact that the citizens of Russia are depositing their money in banks on a large scale. Proceeding from this, I advise those in Georgia who have savings to deposit them in a savings bank as soon as possible. **[Chkhikvadze] Yes, but how will those people manage, who are unable to add to that sum of money that they have managed to save throughout their lives, a sum, moreover, that is paultry given current market prices? After all, given the irregularity of wages or pensions, these savings will gradually become exhausted. Therefore, a shortage of ready cash will result in their being faced with the most acute problem of daily existence. One other thing. What about those people who have thousands or perhaps millions of rubles or hard currency in their savings? Should they be afraid of depositing their money in a bank? Will they be guaranteed immunity by the law?**

[Topuriya] As regards the first question, I agree with you. In the example that you gave, a citizen will find himself in a hopeless situation, and therefore he is obliged to withdraw his savings from the bank. As regards the second question, those in possession of millions need not fear that they will lose their savings. I am absolutely certain about this. Furthermore, a package of laws is being prepared in parliament that will grant privileges during state property auctions to those who had investments in the republic's banks.

Political Developments, Opposition Viewed

PM2711160991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 91 p 1

[S. Chernykh report: "Tbilisi. Hot November"]

[Text] The opposition has become more active in Georgia in recent days. This is connected with the start of work by the republic Supreme Council and with the return from Moscow of Tengiz Sigua, the formal leader, who has brought new details of the Georgian leadership's preputsch activity. However, interest in the August events is waning with every passing day.

At the same time a wave of arrests and acts of terrorism has swept through Georgia. Most of the arrested opposition figures are being released, although some remain in a detention center. The latest of these is T. Zhorzholiani, leader of the monarchists' party. Reports of explosions, beatings, and premeditated raids come in from time to time. These measures are taken against opposition figures who come under the law on deputies' immunity and who therefore cannot be "taken" under the criminal code. In this sense the "Charter 91" parliamentary faction has suffered the greatest moral and material harm. It is the very faction that Supreme Council Chairman Akakiy Asatiani singled out in a recent interview in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA as the one he most respects. A few days ago the nerves of Supreme Council Deputy Eldar Shengelaya, the movie director, snapped, and he publicly demanded his own arrest.

Students have unexpectedly joined in the political struggle, although at the start of the academic year, i.e. in the middle of October, they had been given strict instructions not to do so under threat of the resumption of the vacations, which had already been really protracted. Late in the evening of the day before yesterday they came to Government House, where a rally-dialogue took place. At the same time parliament was debating the draft resolution on illegal armed formations—which primarily concerned the national guard unit under the command of Tengiz Kitovani. A group of deputies was sent to their base for talks. It returned a few hours later, bringing a joint communique. This states that the subunits entrusted to Kitovani are ready to defend the borders.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Receives European Delegation

LD0412032391 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 3 Dec 91

[By KAZTAG correspondent Konstantin Borodinov]

[Text] Alma-Ata December 3 (TASS)— President of the Kazakh Republic Nursultan Nazarbayev today received a delegation of the European Parliament staying here. The delegation is headed by Magdalena Hoff, chairperson of the Commission for Liaison with the USSR. Specific ways of establishing direct interstate ties were discussed. Cooperation in the economic area between European countries and Kazakhstan was considered.

Ms. Hoff said that experience of resolving social problems accumulated in European countries can be of undoubted interest for Kazakhstan during the transition to a market. There are plans to open an institute of management in Kazakhstan. The sovereign republic will be given assistance in the development of medium and small enterprises. The possibility of cooperation of the European parliament in giving assistance to those affected by nuclear tests at the Semipalatinsk range and the ecological catasrophy in the area of the Aral Sea was also discussed.

Uranium Mining, Production Activity Declines

LD0212184391 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Vladimir Ganzha]

[Text] Alma-Ata December 2 TASS—Kazakhstan is shedding the dubious distinction of being the leading nuclear centre in the Soviet Union. At the beginning of the year, Kazakh public opinion vetoed indefinitely all nuclear activity on the Semipalatinsk range. Now uranium mining enterprises are being shut down. The Shalgi and Tasbulak mines have already closed. The mining of fission materials for the largest uranium plant - on the Caspian island of Mangyshlak - has declined sharply.

The mass emigration of uranium mining town residents to other areas bears witness this is not a temporary phenomenon. Local residents, foremen and engineers alike have all decided to seek work in others sectors of the economy.

Prosecutor Protests Russian Property Decision

PM2911140591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 91 p 2

[Correspondent T. Yesilbayev report: "Even Prosecutors Are Arguing About Property"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—KAZTAG has circulated a statement by Zh. Tuyakbayev, Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] general prosecutor, made in connection with the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's adoption of a resolution on prosecutor's office organs. Zh. Tuyakbayev described as unceremonious the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's decision to unilaterally transfer to Russia a number of facilities of the USSR Prosecutor's Office. This is nothing other than treating something that belongs to all the former subjects of the USSR as the property of one republic. The prosecutor's office remained one of the few organs in the disintegrating Union to retain its own unity in opposing lawlessness. And we should not tolerate hasty and rash actions, the Kazakh SSR general prosecutor emphasized.

Kyrgyzstan

Iranian Foreign Minister Leads Delegation

LD2911152591 Bishkek Radio Bishkek Network in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] At the invitation of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, a political delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran has visited Bishkek. It was headed by His Excellency 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian foreign minister.

On their arrival in the Kyrgyzstan capital, the members of the political delegation of Iran were received by Sherimkulov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. A joint agreement was signed on cooperation between Iran and Kyrgyzstan, which was signed by Velayati and Sherimkulov.

On 29 November, the guests from Iran had a meeting with Akayev, president of the republic. On the same day, the representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran left Kyrgyzstan.

Cooperation Accord Signed

LD2911165291 Tehran IRIB Television Second Program Network in Persian 1615 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Iranian Foreign Minister Dr. Velayati, who is currently in Bishkek, capital of Soviet Kyrgyzstan, met and held talks with that republic's president, Askar Akayev. At the end of the meeting, in a private interview with an IRIB Correspondent, the foreign minister said: In accordance with agreements reached between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Kyrgyzstan, they will cooperate in the spheres of establishing common institutions, the opening of Iran's consular general in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan's office in Tehran, and the promotion of ties. A memorandum of understanding on economic, cultural, and trade cooperation was signed between the two nations today.

Tajikistan

Supreme Soviet Opens 10th Session in Dushanbe

LD0212162491 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Excerpt] The 10th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan began its work today in the city of Dushanbe. At the beginning of the session, Sharifov, chairman of Tajikistan Election Commission, presented a report on the results of the nationwide election on 24 November to elect the president of the Republic of Tajikistan. Later, Rahman Nabiyev, who was elected (?during the election) received the certificate of becoming president of Tajikistan. [passage omitted]

Nabiyev Takes Oath

LD0312125991 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Report by correspondent Shadman Safa]

[Excerpt] I do not want to talk in detail about the 10th session of the Tajik Supreme Soviet, because our dear listeners fully heard and watched the proceedings of the session on radio and television. I would like to speak briefly on a number of (?interesting) issues. The session basically discussed two issues. The agenda included the result of the election for Tajik president and the election of the chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet.

On the first item of the agenda, Comrade Sharifov, chairman of the Election Commission of the Republic of Tajikistan, presented the results by the commission to the esteemed deputies. The document [words indistinct] on the election of Rakhman Nabiyev as president of the Republic of Tajikistan. The president was sworn in before the audience which we will once again broadcast for our listeners:

[Begin Nabiyev recording] Esteemed people's deputies, esteemed members of the government, esteemed guests. I want to solemnly swear before you and before all our dear compatriots that I will honestly serve the people of the Republic of Tajikistan, will (?resolutely) implement in life the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan and the laws of the Republic of Tajikistan, will guarantee the rights and freedoms of the citizens, and will carry out the office of the President of Tajikistan entrusted to me conscientiously. [applause] [end recording]

[Safa] Deputies and other invited guests at the session congratulated the president and wished him (?success). Included among them were Haji Akbar Turajanzada, the kazi of the Muslims of Tajikistan; Deputies Haydar Sharifzada, [name indistinct], Rahmanova; Jalal Ikrami, the peoples writer of Tajikistan; and others expressed best wishes to him. The president then spoke briefly on a number of important problems of the day and their solutions.

The Supreme Soviet then began discussions on the second item of the agenda: the election of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic. Three candidates were nominated for this job. They were Deputies Akbarshah Iskandarov, Safarali Kendzhayev, and Madmurad Karimov. As a result of a secret ballot, Safarali Kenjayev received more votes than the others, that is 55.2 percent and was duly elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

Nabiyev Speaks To Parliament

LD0212151491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1212 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TAJIKTA correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 2 Dec (TASS)—Rakhman Nabiyev was sworn in as president of the Republic of Tajikistan at a meeting of the republic's Supreme Soviet held here today. He was elected president as a result of the contested election held throughout the republic on 24 November.

Speaking in parliament, the leader of the republic delivered a short policy statement in which he set out his position on ways of ending the political and socioeconomic crisis in the republic as quickly as possible and stabilizing the sociopolitical situation. He said his priorities include a switch to a market economy, with the emphasis on different forms of ownership, and tightening of discipline and order in all areas of production. He stressed the importance of the earliest possible signing of the Union treaty.

Because of his election as president of the republic, Nabiyev has been released from his duties as chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet. The well-known Tajik lawyer Safarali Kendzhayev won a contested election for the chairmanship of the Supreme Soviet.

Rival Candidate Decides Against New Election

LD3011104891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] In view of the acute political situation in Tajikistan, the former candidate to the post of president of the republic, Davlat Khudonazarov, decided not to insist on holding new elections. As was reported earlier, he asserted that his rival Rakhman Nabiyev, former leader of the Communist Party in the republic, won by fabricating the election returns. Khudonazarov, a well known film maker, is supported by the democratic opposition. He demanded that the Central Electoral Commission of the republic put down all instances of violation of the election law.

President Urges Swift Action on Union Treaty

LD0312182391 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Interview with Rakhman Nabiyev, newly elected president of Tajikistan, by correspondent M. Nikulin, in the president's study in Dushanbe; preceded by Nikulin's report on Tajik Supreme Soviet session in Dushanbe; from the "TV Inform" Newscast]

[Text] [Nikulin] The [Tajikistan Supreme Soviet] deputies endorsed the results of the presidential elections, and Rakhman Nabiyev, who won a convincing victory, was sworn in as the first president of Tajikistan. The citizens of the republic are linking Nabiyev's election with hopes of achieving national accord and stability. Tajikistan occupies one of the lowest places in the former Union as regards living standards. The president is concentrating his main attention on solving socio-economic problems, among which providing food for the republic through the development of private enterprise stands out. Steps to privatize state ownership and to set up joint-stock and lease-holding collectives are being planned. An independent economy, in the president's opinion, should be integrated into the all-union and world economies.

[Niulin, questioning Nabiyev] What will the president's first steps be?

[Nabiyev] Many of the deputies who spoke drew attention to imposing order in the republic and consolidating all forces, all parties, and all movements, and, on this basis, further increasing the standard of living of the people of Tajikistan.

[Nikulin] What is your attitude to the Union treaty?

[Nabiyev] My attitude to the Union treaty is this: On 9 September of this year, we declared our republic to be sovereign and independent, but that we should be within the Union. Therefore, we must sort this treaty out as quickly as possible, determine our positions, and sign this treaty.

Iranian Foreign Minister Visits Dushanbe

LD0312133691 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] As esteemed listeners are aware, Esteemed 'Ali Akbar Velayati, foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, arrived in Dushanbe 1 December. Today, Esteemed 'Ali Akbar Velayati and his entourage familiarized themselves with the capital of Tajikistan. Here is a report from our reporter Karim Musa:

[Musa] [passage indistinct] The (?guests) visited the republican research center. A meeting was held in the republican research center with the Iranian foreign minister. At the beginning of the meeting, Maksud Ikramov, mayor of Dushanbe, said:

[Begin Ikramov recording] Dear friends, we are honored with the visit by 'Ali Akbar Velayati, the foreign minister of Iran, to the capital of the Republic of Tajikistan, the city of Dushanbe. One of his wishes is to meet you and speak on the friendly relations between Iran and Tajikistan. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Mr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati, foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, made a speech:

[Begin Velayati recording, in Persian fading to Tajik translation] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Beneficent. It is also a pleasure for me to be in the city of Dushanbe, the capital of the Republic of Tajikistan. As Mr. Mayor pointed out the two republics of Iran and Tajikistan, in view of common grounds and very long and historic relations, have the potential for expansion of relations between us. Fortunately, necessary ground is prepared for an increase in exchange of delegation between (?our states). We hope the visit by the present delegation to the Republic of Tajikistan, although short, will be fruitful. The fact that high-ranking colleagues from various ministries, various parts of the Islamic Republic of Iran and journalists from the mass media of the Islamic Republic of Iran are among us, will prepare the necessary ground for concluding treaties and agreements and signing of memorandum of understanding during this visit. At present a number of our colleagues are meeting their Tajik counterparts in various ministries. God willing, the final results of these meetings will be the signing in a memorandum of understanding. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Cooperation Declaration Signed

LD0212222891 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] As reported, a government delegation from the Islamic Republic of Iran led by Foreign Minister 'Ali Akabar Velayati, was guest of our republic. This morning, he paid visits to the statues of the legends of Tajik literature—'Abu Abdullah Rudaki, 'Abu 'Ali Sina, Sadreddin Aini, and Mirza Tursunzad—and went to the Dushanbe Disease Diagnosis Center. There he met with employees of the center. Similarly, Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati visited the Manuscripts Department of the Tajikistan Academy of Science, and the Tajikistan Board of Muslims. During the day, he had meetings and talks with officials and collectives of Dushanbe enterprises and institutions.

On the same day, a declaration on principles of cooperation was signed between the Republic of Tajikistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran. The documents were signed on behalf of Tajikistan by Prime Minister Izatulla Hayayev, and on behalf of Iran by Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati. After the signing ceremony, Izatulla Hayayev and 'Ali Akbar Velayati said the following on the prospects for cooperation between the two countries:

[Begin recording] [Hayayev] The document we have just signed with Mr. Velayati is a historic one for both the Republic of Tajikistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran. According to the declaration signed today, economic, political, civil, and cultural relations will be developed between the Republic of Tajikistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran. In accordance with this document, special groups both from the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Tajikistan will meet soon. This declaration also states that documents should be prepared according to which economic, civil, and cultural relations will be developed. I should state that this is an important document for the two republics and our relations ought to be developed in the future in accordance with this document.

[Velayati, in Persian with superimposed Tajik translation] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Beneficent: Immediately after the Islamic Republic of Iran's delegation arrived last night in the city of Dushanbe, capital of Tajikistan, we had a meeting with the prime minister. Members of our delegation, starting last night, began talks with their Tajik counterparts. This morning they held (?secondary sessions). The result of talks between the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Tajikistan, carried out since the morning, is the preparation and draft of a comprehensive memorandum of understanding, which finally after drafting and typing was signed by his excellency the prime minister and by me. This memorandum of understanding includes political, cultural, trade, economic, scientific, and educational cooperation, and transportation affairs. It is envisaged that during the coming three months a consulate of the Islamic Republic of Iran and an office of the Republic of Tajikistan will be opened in Dushanbe and Tehran respectively. God willing, it has been decided that the National Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran will open a branch here. (?We would like) to have joint investment with Tajikistan, to carry out cultural cooperation, and an exchange of teachers, students, and Talaba between the two countries. Also, an air link—Tehran-Dushanbe and perhaps in the future, Tehran-Mashad-Dushanbe—will be established.

Similarly, a draft agreement on road and rail transportation is envisaged in this memorandum of understanding. Talks also were held in connection with political visits and the exchange of delegations in various (?fields). All these have been mentioned in the memorandum of understanding, and we think that in general, in view of the short (?time) since the establishment of (?links) between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Tajikistan, the speed of our advance has been desirable and satisfactory. Of course, the nature of the important commonalities between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Tajikistan demands that it should be so. It has been decided that one of the most important avenues of the city of Dushanbe [words indistinct] be named Iran and an avenue in Iran be named Tajikistan. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Tajikistan, Kazakhstan Sign Economic Treaty

LD3011215991 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] A governmental delegation from the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic arrived in Tajikistan today to sign a treaty on trade and economic cooperation for 1992. The delegation is led by Kazakh Prime Minister Tereshchenko. At Dushanbe Airport the delegation was welcomed by Hayayev, prime minister of the Republic of Tajikistan, and other officials.

On the same day negotiations began between the delegations from the two countries, and the treaty was signed at a ceremony by the heads of governments. In accordance with this treaty, the governments of the two republics will prepare the conditions for keeping, establishing, and extending direct economic links between enterprises, organizations, and other economic matters in terms of the supply of raw material, goods, and consumer goods. It is specifically stated in the document that both sides will refrain from actions which may cause economic harm to the other republic.

The delegation from the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic left for Alma-Ata on the same day.

Turkmenia

President Niyazov Leads Delegation to Turkey

Foreign Minister Previews Visit

LD0312115791 Ashkhabad Radio Ashkabad Network in Turkmen 1600 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Interview with Turkmen Foreign Minister Kuliyev by unidentified correspondent prior to departure for Turkey in Ashkabad airport on 2 December—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Please tell us about the main aim of the trip.

[Kuliyev] The main aim is to establish relations with Turks, the Turkish state. After Turkmenistan achieved its independence, for the first time our president is going to Turkey leading a delegation of high-ranking officials. The Turkish Goverment has already confirmed receiving the president as an official president.

[Correspondent] (?What will be discussed).

[Kuliyev] Political questions; economic and cultural questions; furthermore organizing air transportation between Turkey and Turkmenistan; setting up telephone, telegram, and postal communications; to organize motor vehicle transportation through Iran.

[Correspondent] Is there a major economic issue to be discussed?

[Kuliyev] The issue of sending Turkmen gas to Turkey. However this question has yet to be thought over in a way that it would be reasonably cheap for both sides. This is one of the main questions.

May Ask for Recognition

OW0112094791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During his upcoming visit to Turkey President Saparmurad Niyazov of Turkmenistan might ask the

Turkish government to recognize his republic's independence, IF [INTERFAX] was told at Turkmenistan's Foreign Ministry.

S. Niyazov will make his trip on December 2-6. According to the republic's foreign minister Abdy Kuliev, during his recent visit the 2 sides drafted a memorandum on political and economic cooperation and on the development of telephone communication between the two states.

Niyazov Cited Upon Arrival

LD0312121191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1757 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Litvinenko]

[Text] Ankara, 2 Dec (TASS)—President Saparmurad Niyazov of Turkmenistan arrived here today at the head of an official delegation. The eminent guest was met at the capital's Esenboga Airport by the Turkish President Turgut Ozal, Minister of Foreign Affairs Hikmet Cetin, and other officials.

Welcoming S. Niyazov, T. Ozal commented that the visit by the head of the fraternal Turkmen people will help to strengthen friendship between the two republics and to develop goodneighborly relations with the USSR.

"We are counting a great deal on the fraternal help of the Turkish people in raising and establishing the economy of Turkmenistan while it moves to market relations", S. Niyazov said in reply.

In the afternoon, Saparmurad Niyazov had a meeting with Suleyman Demirel, the Turkish prime minister. He briefed the head of the Turkish Government on the processes taking place in the country and in particular in Turkmenistan, and advocated preserving a renewed Soviet Union on a confederative basis.

"Turkmenistan," S. Niyazov stressed, "will sign the Union treaty in the very near future".

Iranian Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit

LD0112115291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] Ashkhabad— 'Ali Akbar Velayati, foreign affairs minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, arrived late 30 November in the capital of Turkmenistan.

The head of the Iranian foreign policy department met Saparmurad Niyazov, president of Turkmenistan, today. Talks on the development of multifaced cooperation in economy, culture, and politics took place.

Velayati delivered a lecture during the day at the republican Academy of Sciences on the works of the Turkmen poet and thinker Makhtum Kuli. The Iranian foreign affairs minister left Ashkhabad in the afternoon.

Meets With President

LD0112182991 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1530 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati today met and conferred with Turkmen President Separmurad Niyazov in Ashkhabad, capital of the Turkmen Republic.

According to a Voice and Vision of Iran correspondent in the Soviet Union, the Turkmen president described the current state of affairs in that republic and called for the expansion of relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran. He emphasized that Turkemistan will establish political relations with countries that have friendly relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran. Mr. Niyazov invited Mr. Velayati to participate in the session of the heads of Soviet Muslim republics, which will convene early next year in Turkmenistan.

The Iranian foreign minister noted the elimination of existing obstacles standing in the way of the expansion of relations with the Turkmen Republic. He declared that the Islamic Republic of Iran is prepared to strengthen and expand relations with Turkmenistan. The grounds for scientific, cultural, and educational cooperation; joint ventures; regulation of telecommunications, postal, telegraphic, and telephone matters; laying a direct telephone line between Tehran and Ashkhabad; cooperating to establish an air link to Ashkhabad; constructing the Tehran-Sarakhs railway line; and the opening of Iran's consulate general in Ashkhabad and the Turkmen Republic's office in Tehran were reviewed at the meeting.

Oil Discovered in Kopet-Dag Range

LD2811133591 Moscow TASS in English 1251 GMT 28 Nov 91

[By TURKMENINFORM-TASS correspondent Oleg Lukin]

[Text] Ashkhabad November 28 TASS—Oil gushed out from the first prospecting hole, sunk to a more than 4-kilometer depth in the foothills of the Kopet-Dag Range. Oil and gas have also been extracted lately from other pools in this area.

Geological forecasts of considerable oil [words indistinct] region have come true. The next task now is to develop the fields and get down to commercial oil and gas production.

Ashkhabad Introduces Rationing of Foodstuffs

LD0112053991 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2303 GMT 28 Nov 91

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] November 25 Ashkhabad City Executive Committee ruled to introduce as of December 1 ration cards for a number of foodstuffs.

One person independently of age is eligible to receive a month: 1 kg of sugar, 200 g of butter, 1 kg of flour of top or 1st quality and 7 kg of flour, 2nd grade. Double quotas of sugar and butter are envisaged for the patriotic war participants and soldiers-internationalists. Introduction of a rationing system, according to Batyr Sardjayev, mayor of Ashkhabad, will terminate hiding and speculation of foodstuffs, it will also allow to distribute them most effectively. The cards and coupons for the basic food products, including butter, flour, sugar and sausages, were introduced in the majority of Turkmenistan cities at the beginning of 1991. According to information received from the sources close to the republican Presidential Council, the situation with foodstuffs is still worsening. Turkmenistan leadership sees the way out of the crisis in large scale foreign barter trade, that is, sales of cotton and oil products in exchange for foodstuffs to foreign firms. The first deals of the kind the Turkmenian Foreign Trade Association Turkmenpagtaexport has already concluded with a number of Swedish trading companies. Similar contracts are expected to be signed with Swiss and Italian firms shortly.

Uzbekistan

Electoral Commission Approves Karimov Candidacy

LD0112140591 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] The decree of the Central Election Commission on the candidacy of Islam Abdulghaniyevich Karimov for the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan, in line with Article 25 of the law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on the election of the president of Uzbekistan, the Central Election Commission decrees:

1. According to the second plenum of the Central Council of the Peoples Democratic Party of Uzbekistan and the decrees of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Uzbekistan, Islam Abdulghaniyevich Karimov be registered as candidate for the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

2. Comrade Islam Abdulghaniyevich Karimov be given [word indistinct] as candidate for the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Foreign Observers Invited to Elections

PM0212153691 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 91 p 1

[From the PRAVDA-TASS column]

[Text] The Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to invite observers from foreign countries and sovereign republics of the former Union to participate in the first nationwide multiparty elections of the president of Uzbekistan and the holding of a referendum on independence, scheduled for 29 December.

President Issues Decree on Aid to Farmers

LD0112163291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1300 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] President of Uzbekistan Karimov has issued a decree on intensifying state support for entrepreneurial activities in the countryside. This document envisages the allocation of additional land and the supply of equipment and fuel to peasants. The farm holdings are totally relieved of paying tax on profits during the first two years. They will sell half of the produce to the state. As far as the rest of the produce is concerned, they can use it as they think best.

Iranian Foreign Minister, Delegation Visit

LD2911202291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] An Iranian Government delegation led by Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati arrived today in the capital of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Later the same day, the delegation was received by Uzbek President Islam Karimov. During the conversation, a joint desire was expressed to develop mutually beneficial commercial, economic, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation between the two neighboring republics.

[Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English at 1700 GMT on 29 November adds in a similar report: "Islam Karimov spoke of good opportunities now being opened up following Uzbekistan's declaration of independence. The president was officially invited to visit Iran."]

Further on Karimov Talks

LD3011102691 Tehran IRNA in English 0740 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 30, IRNA—Iran respects the aspirations of the Soviet republics for self-determination. However, Tehran's relations with the Soviet republics are formulated within the framework of her relations with Moscow, said Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati upon arrival at Tashkent airport, Uzbekistan. Velayati who is currently on a 10-day visit to Moscow and six Muslim-populated Asian republics, arrived in Tashkent from Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan on Friday [29 November]. He said that he came to Tashkent to explore ways of cooperation between Uzbekistan and Iran.

After holding talks with Uzbek President Islam Karimov, Velayati said during the meeting establishment of an air link between Tehran and the Far East through Tashkent was proposed. Another issue raised was trade exchanges by cargo trains between the republic and the Iranian northeastern provincial capital of Mashhad.

The Uzbek president predicted a promising prospect for Iran-Uzbekistan future relations adding that Tehran and

Tashkent share common religious and cultural backgrounds which will help further consolidation of bilateral relations. According to Karimov, an Uzbek delegation is to arrive in Iran soon to explore avenues for further cooperation.

Meanwhile, Velayati after touring Uzbekistan science academy said that cultural and scientific contacts with the Muslim-populated republic will further consolidate Tehran-Tashkent ties. Before departing for Tashkent on Friday, the Iranian minister signed a letter of understanding with Kyrgyzstan on mutual cooperation in the fields of banking, insurance, transportation and tourism.

Formation of Worker-Peasant Party Reported

PM0212144391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the "Chronicle" rubric]

[Text] Tashkent—The Worker-Peasant Party of Uzbekistan has been established. It is guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching. "Worker-Peasant Party activists, recognize the principles of the worker-peasant party founded by V.I. Lenin." Worker-Peasant Party members intend to take control of video clubs, bars, and restaurants.

Erk Democratic Party Meets in Tashkent

LD0212153591 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Last night a meeting of the Tashkent oblast and Tashkent city organization of the Erk Democratic Party was held in Tashkent. Party delegates from cities and rayons participated in its work. The candidacy of Muhammad Sali, chairman of the Erk Democratic Party, to the presidency of the republic was discussed and a corresponding appeal to the Central Election Commission was adopted.

An organizational question arose at the meeting. Professor Karimov, deputy of Tashkent city soviet, was elected first secretary of the Tashkent city and oblast organisation of the Erk Democratic Party of Uzbekistan. A delegation consisting of 11 members was formed. All the leaders of the party organizations from the rayons of the oblast and city are considered members of the council.

Official on Republic's Military Call Up

LD0312122891

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 1345 GMT on 2 December carries a recorded 10- minute interview on the "Call Up 91" program with Lieutenant Colonel Abdulaziz Abdulkakharovich Abdulkakhar, deputy chairman of the military registration and enlistment offece and employee of the Uzbek Ministry of Defense Matters, by Galina Vinogradova.

In reply to an introductory question about why the republic has decided to halve the numbers of its recruits to the Soviet Army, Abdulkakhar explains that Uzbekistan wishes to reduce the percentage of the republic's young men called up to a level equal to that of other civilized nations—previously it was far higher even than the average Union figure. He describes the progress made during the course of discussions with the USSR Defense Ministry which eventually approved the decision, signing two joint agreements with Uzbekistan on the matter.

Vinogradova asks about unemployment in the republic: Is the call up not one way of helping to combat it and should it not, for this reason, be promoted? Abdulkakhar answers that alternative nonmilitary service is being introduced alongside the reduction in conscription to the Union Armed Forces. Young men not called up into the Army will be employed in the republic's national economy. A further decision by the Uzbek Council of Ministers will give more precise details on this.

Abdulkakhar summarizes the content of the Uzbek Council of Ministers decision that they are currently discussing. It was signed on 25 October 1991. Alongside a reduction in those called up it deals with extending privileges, setting up alternative service, and creating National Guard formations. The decision envisages freeing from service those conscripts whose brothers have died in service as well as only sons and the youngest son when the other sons have served in the Army. Conscripts whose brothers are already serving are to have their call up delayed as are those working as shepherds—for as long as they remain shepherds.

Describing measures being taken in the republic with regard to identifying and filtering out unhealthy conscripts, Abdulkakhar states that work began in the republic—together with the Ministry of Health—last autumn on drawing up an additional list of illnesses and physical ailments which should exclude men from service in the armed forces. New deputy health ministers have been appointed to deal with medical provision for young people in service.

Abdulkakhar gives a break-down of the new Uzbek conscripts: 60 percent are urban residents, 40 percent rural residents, they represent more than 80 nations and ethnic groups but 75 percent are indigenous Uzbeks.

When asked where most of the conscripts will serve, Abdulkakhar states that the agreement signed sets out specific areas: the Turkestan Military District, the Volga and Urals Military Districts, the Pacific Fleet, the Northern and Western Groups of Forces, the Air Defense Forces, and the Maritime Border military district—apart from its most northern areas. Conscripts called up into the internal troops and construction units are to serve only on the territory of the republic.

Abdulkakhar confirms that the republic's conscripts are not to be sent to the country's "hot spots" and states that he considers this to be just since the Army should not be used to sort out internal conflicts, it is there to guard the country's borders. If conscripts do wish to serve in such areas they may do so, on a contractual basis.

Ration Coupons Established for All Goods

PM2911150791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, AP, and RIA roundup]

[Text] From 15 December the sale of all types of foodstuffs and nonfood goods will be coupon-based in Uzbekistan's state, cooperative, commercial, and commission trade system.

A decision on this was made by the Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet Presidium and the republic's Cabinet of Ministers.

Economist Cited on 'Shadow Economy'

LD0112132491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0442 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By UZTAG correspondent Irina Grebenyuk]

[Text] Tashkent, 30 Nov (TASS)—No less than 10 percent of the GNP of Uzbekistan is controlled by those trading on the "shadow economy". At the same time, half of the republic's population is living on the poverty line, and a further quarter are on the very threshold of it. This has been reported in the newspaper PRAVDA VOSTOKA in an article by the economist G. Saydovoy.

All of this is directly linked with the lack of proportion in the republic's economy: the predominance of raw materials and extraction industries. But now other problems are emerging. For example: attitudes toward property. Until recently a precise mechanism for privatization had not been worked out in Uzbekistan. Moreover, a significant proportion of the population of the republic, the author affirms, is psychologically and economically not prepared for this process. On the other hand a significant turnover in the sphere of the shadow economy allows one to talk of serious moves by the mafia structures to buy up state property.

Uzbekistan too has not missed out on discussion about the introduction of a national currency. The economist predicts that the introduction of its own currency could lead to the problem of a deficit in payment and trade balances. Economic links can only be realized on a barter basis or on the basis of freely convertible currency and social tension is rising sharply. Therefore, the best option is for the sovereign republics to work together to strengthen the ruble exchange rate and to fulfill all the articles in the economic agreement.

Manpower Export Venture Set Up With Sweden

PM2911094991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 91 p 1

[Untitled report from PRAVDA-TASS roundup]

[Text] The Government of Uzbekistan has adopted a decision on creating an Uzbek-Swedish joint-stock company for exporting manpower. Protocols of intent to cooperate with Malaysia, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait have already been signed. According to preliminary calculations, the new export item will bring the republic more currency than the traditional export of cotton and other raw materials.